

Forced Labour : A Study of Rickshaw Pullers of Allahabad City Uttar Pradesh

Report

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Submitted To
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RESEARCH TEAM

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PREFACE

I feel fortunate to have got the opportunity to study the working and living conditions of rickshaw pullers pulling rickshaws in the city of Allahabad, one of the holy cities in India. The reason is not that Allahabad is notoriously known for the 'forced' labour as rickshaw pulling is. The reason is studying 'home' first by unearthing an issue like rickshaw pulling, supported by my home Institute, namely, G. B. Pant Social Science Institute. Nor is the idea of studying rickshaw pulling and pullers a recent one. I had in mind the study long back when I used to observe drudgery of rickshaw pullers in Kolkata (previously Calcutta). My Institute give me the opportunity to initiate the study in a formal manner.

It is really difficult to understand the kind of self-exploitation or forced labour that rickshaw pulling is, unless one pulls rickshaw himself. This being in the informal or unorganised sector, it is also difficult to suggest what best for the rickshaw pullers may be, so long as pulling rickshaws manually remains a fact of labour life.

I had to convince my Institute while I argued in favour of paying the rickshaw pullers while in field. This was needed to compensate income loss while they were being interviewed for two to three hours. We paid each of the sample rickshaw pullers a sum between Rs. 25/- and Rs. 30/- as compensation for income loss and got receipt signed (thumb impression) by the rickshaw pullers. We had to get the receipt from rickshaw pullers to avoid objection from audit professionals, so we were informed. It may seem surprising but true that the rickshaw pullers were reluctant and frightened to take money from us. We had to explain the reason why.

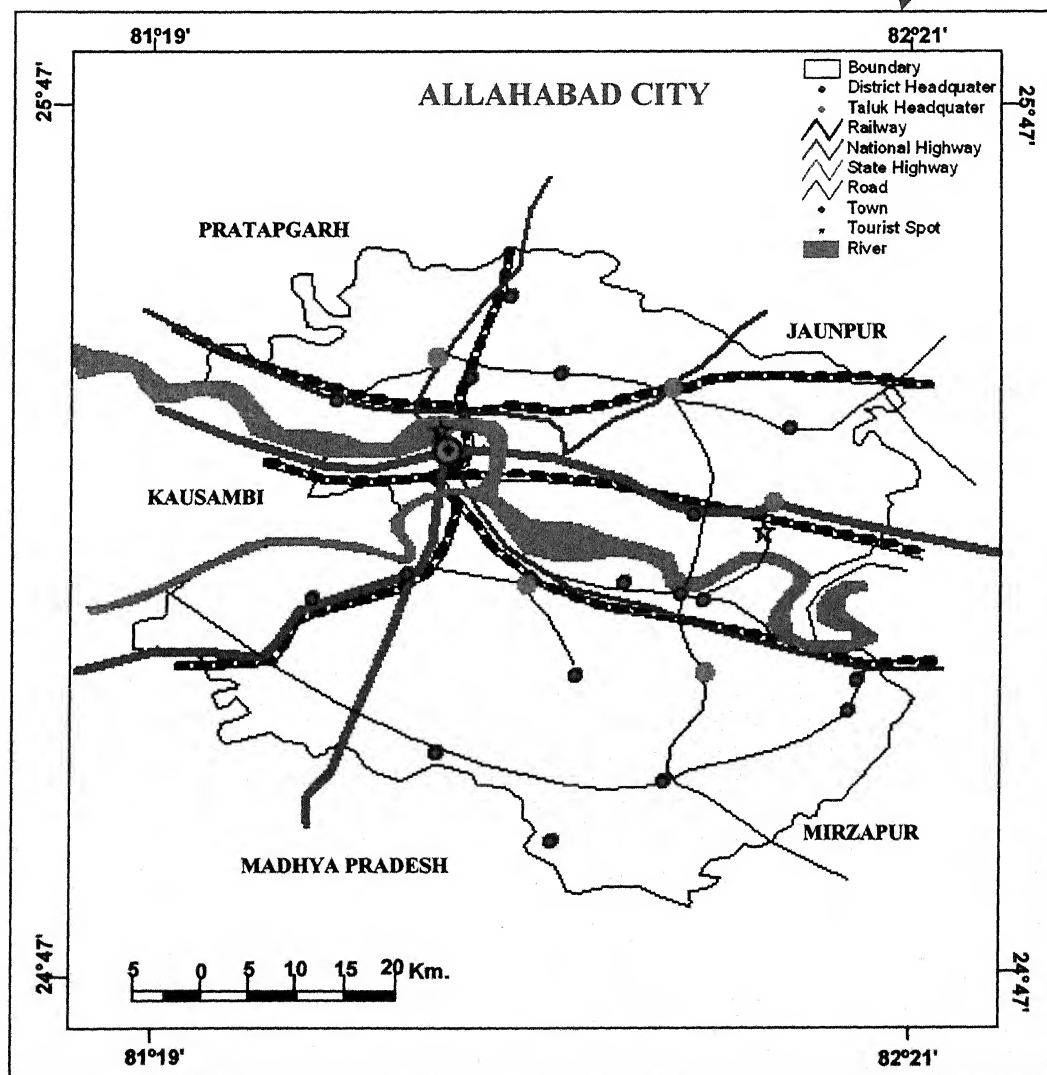
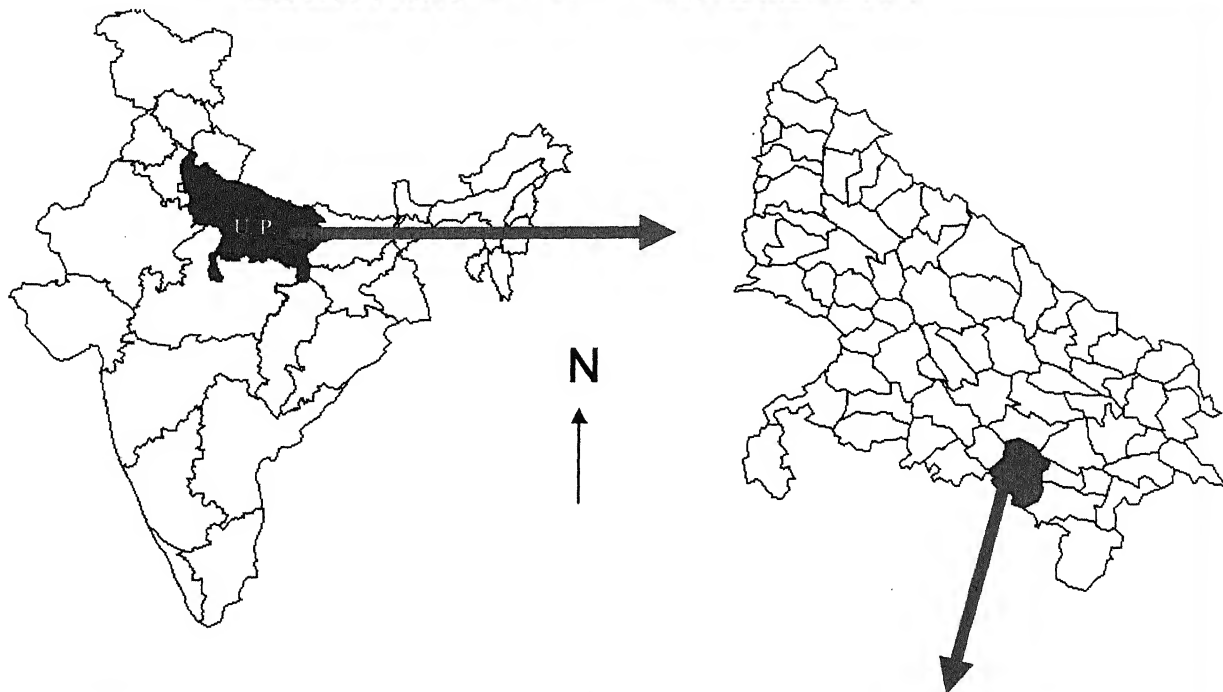
This study is a very short duration one (two months) with only two project assistants. It is a pilot study where many questions have remained unexplored. I cannot stop appreciating the services of research assistants, Sri M. G. Gupta and Sri G. N. Jha who laboured hard to unearth the facts of the life of rickshaw pullers. Sri Sandeep Kumar Jaiswal, as usual, provided love's labour in computer. I am also thankful to Miss. Ankita Gupta and Miss. Jyoti Srivastava for their contributions as translators in this study. The silent support of Prof. R. C. Tripathi, Director of the Institute, helped me to complete the project in time. Last, but not the least, the officials of Allahabad Nagar Nigam and DUDA need appreciation for the support that they provided for the study.

On behalf of the Project Team I may be permitted to submit the report to the Institute.

ALLAHABAD
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(BHASKAR MAJUMDER)

LOCATION OF ALLAHABAD CITY



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CHAPTER ONE

URBANIZATION AND LABOUR MARKET

An individual becomes a worker by doing any job/work independent of the time rule (labour hour) and collects/produces products for herself (including her family). The worker always exists as a social category, while labour exists as an economic category. Capitalism converts a worker into a labourer willing to sell labour power (a commodity) to the buyer (another individual or owner/controller of non-labour resources) at the prevailing (or agreed upon) price (wage rate). Labour (hour) becomes the root or cause of all products, that is the time expression of labour power embedded in the labourer (Harriss - White, 2004, P. 17). The labour hour gets concrete shape in products and services. Institutions convert a social category into an economic category, and hence a 'worker' becomes a 'labourer'. An individual joins a job, the first one, independent of his own will, and dependent on prevailing laws, customs, practices etc. as shown by institutions. In a gross sense, thus, any 'labour' is 'forced'. We, however, study here the case where the very joining a job is involuntary, or in a condition of helplessness. The job becomes 'forced' in nature if the workers like to leave it in presence of 'any alternative job' and/ or if one does not feel comfortable in the current job. A job may also show self-exploitation and hence 'forced' in nature. 'Forced' labour is mainly an urban phenomenon, when the worker feels compelled (forced) to leave the root (village and land-linked activities), at least, temporarily to migrate to urban region in search of 'any' job for support income.

1.1 Urbanization

Urbanization is a process of agglomeration of population that get settled within a narrow boundary relative to the size of settled population showing high density of population per square kilometer. Either natural increase in population or shift of existing urban boundary or reclassification of areas known earlier as villages lead to formation of towns/cities. Composition of the towns/cities shows urban regions.

The offshoot of urbanization will be reflected in net migration of population in a frame of rural-urban inflows and outflows of population, setting up of industries in urban boundaries, increasing percentage of population waiting at the gates of the industries, deruralization, formation of both formal and informal labour market with

increasing reserve army of labourers. The consequences may be proletarianization, pauperization, slumization, and criminalization. There is no escape from urbanization even if it leads to the consequences seen as 'bad' for humanity.

In conventional literature urbanization is measured by certain parameters like density of population, percentage of population engaged in secondary and tertiary occupations, production of land-delinked goods, improved infrastructure, easy communication etc. Urban-Rural differential will be manifest in terms of all these parameters, like urban region will show much higher population density, much higher percentage of population in secondary and tertiary services, increasing shift from nature (land, climate) dependent production, increasing processing of goods, use of higher order technology. There are offshoots of these indicators linked with urbanization.

For identification of urban areas in India the Census 2001 has accepted the following criteria:

- i) An area having population of 5,000 persons or more
- ii) An area with 75% of its population engaged in non-agricultural activities
- iii) An area with density of population of 400 persons per square km.

A particular location may be attractive to some individuals to use the location economically and hence attract population for ultimate settlement. These locations may be resource rich, linked by railways, or by ports etc. A corollary is development of the location as industrial growth centre and generating scope for employment in centre and in the periphery. Movement of people from outside is a corollary. The probability of getting jobs, wage-differential and hence higher standard of living, better education and health act as a 'pitcher plant' in the urban economy (Majumder, 2004). A city is a constituent of this urban economy.

1.2 Influx and Exodus

The carrying capacity and vibrancy of a city is understood by the size of the settled population in a city, the quality of the people in terms of understanding the scope and nature of work, and the actual frequency of people moving in and moving out. This, at the same time, shows mobility of workers in search of economic occupations. That a city is economically attractive is partially proved by the influx while the exodus shows the search for outside jobs by some of the settled people. For a city that can attract people from outside, it will be *prima facie* difficult to understand why people move out. One reason could be wage-differential, while there

may also be non-economic parameters like heredity-cum-caste determined jobs, prevalence of caste division of labour etc. Potential workers settled inside the city may be reluctant to be engaged in a particular type of job because of cultural taboo.

We are concerned in this study on influx of people from outside the city. This influx covers short-distance influx as well as long-distance influx. The short-distance influx is generally characterized by 'easy come easy go' like entering into the city in the morning and going back at the end of the same day or at the end of the week. The long-distance influx is 'long-stay' type with going home after money/saving is accumulated. In case of studying rickshaw pullers we will look into both these types. The circulation of labour by periodic migration has been elaborately recorded in the context of south Gujarat elsewhere (Bremen, 1996).

Because of push and pull factors the population gets settled in urban region. Though in a primarily land (agriculture) dependent economy people would prefer to remain locally confined, economic compulsions often make them unsettled. This unsettlement leads to migration of many types including 'forced' one. Urbanization is a consequence of both voluntary and forced migration of settled population from earlier settled village economy. For the economy of India the trend of urbanization by population is shown in Table 1.1. During the twentieth century, over hundred years, urban population as percentage of India's total settled population increased from 10.0 per cent to 30.0 per cent, that is, increased thrice by percentage indicator. The obvious implication is higher rate of settled population in urban region relative to rural one and also the former rate of settlement higher than the total rate of increase in population by settlement in the country. For the world as a whole, the percentage of urban population stood at 47.0 in 2001. For the developed countries the percentage stood between 75.0 and 80.0 (Majumder 2004 a).

Table – 1.1
India: Urbanization by Settlement of Population, 1901-2001

Year	Urban Population (Million)	Urban Population as Percentage of Total Population
1901	29.9	10.8
1911	25.9	10.3
1921	28.1	11.2
1931	33.5	12.0
1941	44.2	13.9
1951	62.4	17.3
1961	78.9	18.0
1971	109.1	19.9
1981	159.5	23.3
1991	217.6	25.7
2001	306.9	30.5

Source: Census of India, 2001.

For the most populous state in India that is Uttar Pradesh, the percentage of population settled in urban region stood at around 20.0 per cent during the last one decade (**Table-1.2**). The rate of urbanization in UP by percentage of settled population was always lower than that for all-India. The percentage gap widened over the fifty years of planned development (1951-2001).

Table – 1.2
Urban Population in UP as Percentage of Total Population in UP

Year	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Percentage	13.7	12.9	14.0	18.0	19.8	20.7

Source: Census of India, Different Years .

If urbanization shows the possibilities of movement of population from rural region, then UP shows lesser possibilities relative to all-India because of high rate of 'local confinement of village settled people' in UP (Majumder, 2005).

The cities in UP, each having settled population more than ten lakhs following Census 2001, are nine in total that account for 42.77 per cent of total urban population in UP. The city of Allahabad accounts for 3.52 per cent of total urban population in UP (**Table 1.3**).

Table – 1.3
Population of Cities and Urban Agglomerations in UP
(Total and as % of Urban Population)

S. No.	City/Nagar Nigam	Population, 2001	Percentage Concentration of Urban Population in UP, 2001
1	Kanpur	2772212	8.03
2	Lucknow	2342289	6.79
3	Ghaziabad	1815981	5.26
4	Agra	1557345	4.51
5	Meerut	1457094	4.22
6	Varanasi	1268522	3.68
7	Allahabad	1213828	3.52
8	Bareilly	1172874	3.39
9	Moradabad	1163478	3.37
	Total	14763623	42.77

Source: Census of India, 2001, Series I.

1.3 Slumaization

There are 607 towns reporting slums in India and in all consisted 1783.9 lakhs population, in which 106.0 (22.76%) lakhs population are living in slum areas. In Uttar Pradesh, there are 65 towns reporting slums and consisted of 187.9 lakhs of the total population, in which 41.5 lakhs (22.12%) population are living in slum areas. In comparison to the nation, the state of Uttar Pradesh portrayed the similar picture regarding the percentage of slum population (**Table-1.4**).

Table – 1.4
Number And Population Of Towns Reporting Slums In India

India/State/Union Territory	No. Of Towns Reporting Slum	Population Of Towns Reporting Slum (Lakh)	Total Slum Population (Lakh)	Column No.3 as % of column No. 4
Uttar Pradesh	65	187.9	41.5	22.12
India	607	1783.9	406.0	22.76

Source: Census of India, 2001

Allahabad is one of the major slum-inhabited cities in U.P. Slum is a forced settlement of population through urbanization that shows apparent scope for work opportunities at the bottom of economic ladder. As high as 26.7 per cent of the population settled in the city of Allahabad constitute slum population, which is much above those for cities like Kanpur, Agra, and Varanasi, and only behind the Meerut city. By size of settled population, the city of Allahabad is less than each of these million-plus cities in U.P. By total slum population, Allahabad shows a size behind Kanpur and Meerut but ahead of Agra and Varanasi (Table- 1.5).

Table - 1.5
Population, Slum Population in Selected Million Plus Cities of Uttar-Pradesh (Municipal Corporation) - 2001

Name of the City	Total Population (Lakh)	Total Slum Population (Lakh)	Column No.3 as % of column No. 2
Kanpur	25.3	3.6	14.56
Agra	12.5	1.2	9.67
Meerut	10.7	4.7	43.87
Varanasi	11.0	1.3	12.55
Allahabad	10.4	2.8	26.7

Source: DUDA Allahabad 2000; Census India 2001.

1.4 Labour

Most of the population of both working and non-working ages (children and aged) in the countries like India depends on agriculture for mere survival. Even when they report being engaged in non-agricultural activities, these are locally confined with limited mobility and linked with land. In a large country like India by size of total population, and hence population in the working age, this means absence of any choice for the individuals in families other than being dependent on land.

There is, however, no single work for many of the workers. This is not to be read as diversification of jobs that a worker chooses to perform. There is, in fact, no choice for the worker other than trying to minimize the vulnerability by maximizing the number of days she gets the opportunity to work. This work opportunity is also not always clear unless she moves in a state of uncertainty to offer her skill anywhere.

In localized economies of countries like India family bondage works more than the mobility of the individual in the working age. The family as a whole provides income security. It is a collective/accommodative economy where family priorities come ahead of the individual's self-priorities. Decisions on migration fit in this frame. Often people settled locally (village) move in a state of limited knowledge about job opportunities. This limited knowledge is derived from past practices of the same individual or the practices of her past generation, or the information provided by the local mobile neighbours and friends and relatives. The small underdeveloped locality (village) offers limited social safety and insignificant economic safety. The individual, depending on the socio-cultural characteristics of both the localities 'moving out' and 'moving in', moves with and without families. The 'twin localities' show scope for work for the 'moved out' and 'moved in' individual. While the society-cum-culture works as bondage for the individual, non-development of the local economy drives the individual out. The individual moved out thus may become an economic individual when she 'moves in' to an economic job elsewhere. In most of the cases for the marginalized sections of the locally settled people, it is the survival instinct of the individuals and families that matter in taking decisions regarding economic activities, often under compulsions (Majumder, 2004, p. 623-625).

1.5 Rickshaw Pullers in Allahabad City

On average, two to three rickshaw pullers pull a rickshaw. The year-to-year variation in this average shows two rickshaw pullers pulling one rickshaw for year 2003-04 which stood at 2.5 rickshaw pullers per rickshaw for 2002-03. The number of rickshaw pullers recorded by Allahabad Nagar Nigam stood above thirty thousand on an annual basis during the two years, 2003-04 and 2004-05; the figure reached the peak in 2000-01 because of 'Mahakumbha' in Allahabad in that year. The average number of rickshaw pullers in the city during the last five years (2000-05) came to be 39228. It means in a small city with population equal to 10.4 lakhs, one rickshaw puller aims at around 26 passengers on any day. This is for the settled population in the city. However, passenger-rickshaw puller ratio depends not essentially on settled population, but more on mobile (unsettled) population who move in and move out of city for different purposes (including pilgrimage) (Table-1.6).

Table - 1.6
Year-wise Distribution of Rickshaws and Rickshaw Pullers of Allahabad City, 2002-05

Years	Rickshaws*			Rickshaw Pullers**			Rickshaw Pullers per Rickshaw
	No. of Registered	Annual Growth	Registration Fee	Numbers	Annual Growth	License Fee	
2000-01	13550	-	159.00	49610	-	20.00	3.66
2001-02	14233	5.04	159.00	45820	-7.63	20.00	3.22
2002-03	15240	7.08	159.00	37329	-18.53	20.00	2.45
2003-04	15472	1.5	160.00	31569	-15.43	20.00	2.04
2004-05	14099	-8.87	160.00	31812	0.77	20.00	2.25
Average	14519	-	-	39228	-	-	2.24

Note: * If the rickshaw is not registered, the Nagar Nigam may charge Rs. 240.00 as a penalty.

** If the rickshaw puller has no License, the Nagar Nigam may charge Rs. 60.00 to 90.00 as a penalty.

Source: Office of Nagar Nigam, License section, Allahabad.

1.6 Fare List for Rickshaw Pulling Fixed by Nagar Nigam

The minimum fare that a rickshaw puller may charge (expect to earn) on any passenger for any (minimum) distance is Rs. 4.00 (Rs. four) only. For running rickshaw at a normal speed (subject to physical capacity, as understood by Allahabad Nagar Nigam), the fare that may be charged by the rickshaw puller is Rs. 10.00 only, and for each additional hour Rs. 8.00. Decreasing additional fare (price charged) is based on the assumption of reduced utility of income, which is not a sound (rational) assumption. In fact, for a rickshaw puller (of any age and physical capacity, additional hour shows increasing fatigue, and hence, the rate should have been higher for each additional hour. The rate (fare) by distance seems more rational at the present rate and time, as fixed by Nagar Nigam, the surface road showing plain land in the city as a whole (having no ups and downs) (**Table-1.7**).

Table-1.7
Fare List for Rickshaw Pullers Fixed by Nagar Nigam, Allahabad

From	To	Fare (in Rs.)
Fare on the basis of hour	Approximate one hour	10.00
	Each one hour after one hour	8.00
Fare on distance basis	One Km. or less	4.00
FARE ON PLACE BASIS		
From Chauk	Katra, Kachahri, George Town	8.00
	Rajapur, University, Naya Katra, High Court, Daragang, Belly, Aailangang, Sangam, Alopibabg	10.00
	Muthigang, Railway Station	4.00
	Bamrauli, Phaphamau, Naini	20.00
From Railway Station	Rajapur Allahabad, University, Katra, Naya Katra, Belly, Aailangang, Daraganj, Sangam	9.00
	Civil Lines	13.00
	Civil Lines	5.00
From Prayag Station	Sangam	10.00
	Chauk	13.00
From Naini Station	Sangam	13.00
From Phaphamau Station	Sangam, Chauk	23.00
From Rambag Station	Bamrauli, Phaphamau, Naini	23.00
	Sangam	8.00
	Chauk	7.00
From Daraganj	Sangam	7.00
From Civil Lines	Sangam	13.00
From Zero Road Bus Station	Sangam	13.00
Kehchahri Bus Stand	Sangam	15.00
From Nagar Nigam Office	Chauk, Kehchahri	7.00

Note: The rickshaw pullers can charge up to 50% excess amount of fixed fare on the occasions of Shivkutti Mela, Makar Sankranti, Moni Amavasya, Basant Panchami, Moharam, Id-Ul Juha, etc.

-The fare rates are given for the year 2004-05

Source: Nagar Nigam, Allahabad, 2005

OBJECTIVES, SAMPLE, METHODOLOGY AND STUDY AREAS

We have studied the living conditions of rickshaw pullers in Allahabad city or the Nagar Nigam area. We covered all types of rickshaw pullers (rented, non-rented/self owner, local and outsiders etc.) who stay in different parts of the city. We have assessed the socio-economic, educational, health, and related problems of rickshaw pullers, who have been pulling rickshaws in Allahabad city. We have also studied the roots and reasons for the migration of people to join the job of rickshaw pulling. We have also tried to find out the kind of supports that have been provided by the Nagar Nigam and government institutions to ensure better living condition of rickshaw pullers.

2.1 Objectives of the Study

It is a short duration pilot study. The study is exploratory keeping in mind the following:

- ❑ To unearth the roots and reasons for migration of workers to ultimately work as rickshaw pullers;
- ❑ To find out the working-cum-living condition of the rickshaw pullers;
- ❑ To examine the nature of forced labour as may be revealed in the job of rickshaw pulling.

2.2 Methodology

We have collected secondary data from Nagar Nigam, Allahabad and office of DUDA, Allahabad regarding the actual number of rickshaws and rickshaw pullers and list of slums where most of the rickshaw pullers reside. We have relied on secondary data from Allahabad Nagar Nigam regarding the actual number of authorized rickshaw stands, the number of rickshaws and rickshaw pullers. These data and information have helped us to classify the city areas into five administrative regions on the direction (East, West North, South and Central) basis and total sample size have been (50) distributed as per above five regions. Ten rickshaw pullers have been selected from each region on the purposive sampling method. During the selection of the sample rickshaw pullers the other basis was to follow adequate representative sample that include:

- Location of current residential place where the rickshaw pullers stay at night.
- Caste/community and permanent residence/location of native places.
- Age of rickshaw pullers/duration of rickshaw pulling.

For this purpose, we did a pilot visit of Allahbad city. We received very little secondary data about the rickshaw pullers. Hence, we collected relevant qualitative and quantitative information about the rickshaw pullers and their family from the primary sources. We prepared two schedules for the study, one for rickshaw pullers and the other for Khatal owners. We depended, for primary data, on the sample rickshaw pullers and rickshaw owners (Khatal owners) through interview using the schedules. Along with this, we also collected the qualitative information regarding the living condition, health, culture of rickshaw pullers, income by day/month from rickshaw pulling, land holding pattern, poverty, working hours of rickshaw pullers, migration of people to join the job of rickshaw pulling, Khatal culture etc.

2.3 Coverage

We covered for the study the city of Allahabad, including its outskirts. In each of the regions within the city of Allahabad, we covered as far as practicable all the 'Mohallas' (colony) where rickshaw pullers are settled. Thus, in total, we covered 40 'Mohallas' that show settlement of 50 rickshaw pullers and eight (8) rickshaw owners (Khatal) that constitute our sample. Some of the rickshaw pullers do not stay in the city, who come from adjoining villages, namely, Phulpur, Soraon, Karchhana, Svait, and Pipalgaon. In the sample of 50 rickshaw pullers, this floating/moving pullers are seven in number, or 14.0 per cent of total rickshaw pullers. The others (43 in number or 86.0 per cent of total) are settled in the Mohallas inside the city. The identified Mohallas where the rickshaw pullers stay are uniformly distributed over regions within the city, with lowest number (percent) of Mohallas in the east (5 or 12.5 per cent), and highest in central (8 or 20.0 per cent) of total Mohallas (40)) (Table- 2.1).

Table – 2.1
Distribution of Rickshaw Pullers on the basis of their Current Residential Place

Area	Mohalla/colony Covered	No. of Mohalla		Sample	
		No.	%	No.	%
South	Maheba, Nainy Colony, Chackbhatai, PAC Chauraha, Gandhinagar, Manasnagar, Chak Imamali, ADA Colony	7	17.5	10	20.0
West	Meerapur, vashihabad, Pritamnagar, Karaili, Chakiya, Oshiyabad, Haddigodown,	7	17.5	10	20.0
North	Mamfordganj, Beli, Rajapur, Chaithamline, Swarajnagar, Alenganj, Mehndauri	7	17.5	7	14.0
Central	Rajrooppur,Chaufatka, Meohall, D.Road, Lohiyamarg , South Malaka, Kamalanagar, Civil Line	8	20.0	9	18.0
East	Rambagh, Daraganj, Sohbatiyabagh, Hathipark, Alopibagh, Allapur	6	15.0	7	14.0
Other*	Village of Phulpur, Soroan, Karchhana, Sevait, Pipalgaon	5	12.5	7	14.0
Total		40	100.0	50	100.0

None: Residential place of rickshaw pullers is different from the location of rickshaw stand/pulling rickshaw.

Source: Field Survey 2005.

2.4 Sample

We have selected a total of 50 rickshaw pullers from all the five regions of the city, which have been identified during the pilot visit by the study team. There was no proper rickshaw stand in the City, so many rickshaw pullers are stand on particular location in the city based on their own convenience and interest. We have covered some of the rickshaw pullers who are the owners of rickshaws also. In addition, we covered eight (8) owners of rickshaws, or owners of so-called 'Khatahs'.

The city of Allahabad is administratively-regionally distributed as east, west, north, south and central. We selected equal number of rickshaw pullers (respondents) from each region, which is ten in number. The rickshaw pullers from SCs come in the sample from all these regions, so is the OBCs in higher number (%) relative to Muslims and general caste. The sample rickshaw pullers from Muslims do not come from south and east, while rickshaw pullers from general caste come only from east and south of Allahabad city. Most of the SC rickshaw pullers come from east of the city in the sample (36.4 per cent), while most of the OBC rickshaw pullers come from the south (37.5 per cent) (Table- 2.2).

Table – 2.2
Sample Profile of Rickshaw Pullers (By Area and Castes)

Area	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
South	2	9.1	6	37.5	-	-	2	66.7	10	20.0
West	3	13.6	1	6.3	6	66.7	-	-	10	20.0
North	4	18.2	4	25.0	2	22.2	-	-	10	20.0
Central	5	22.7	4	25.0	1	11.3	-	-	10	20.0
East	8	36.4	1	6.3	-	-	1	33.3	10	20.0
Total	22	100.0	16	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

2.5 Demographic Profile of Allahabad City

Allahabad is a small city by absolute size, it is only 82.12 sq.km. in area. The density of settled population in the city is high, it is 12691.5 per sq.km. The percentage of male population in the city is 55.28. SC population in the city is only 13.06 per cent of total population. ST population is insignificant in the city, it is 0.05 per cent of total population. Sex ratio is against female population in the city, it is 809 per 1,000 male population. The rate of growth of population per annum in the city considered over last one decade (1991-2001) is 2.3 per cent. The average family size is 6.4 (Table – 2.3).

Table – 2.3
Profile of Allahabad City

Indicators	M. Crop and Other Govt.	Cantonment Board	Total Allahabad City
Areas (in sq. km.)	63.87	18.31	82.12
No. of Households	157829	4571	162400
Population	1018092	24137	1042229
Male	562864	13258	576122
Female	455228	10879	466107
SC Population	127459	8724	136183
ST Population	495	05	500
Literacy Rate (%)	80.9	72.8	80.7
Male	86.1	81.3	84.8
Female	74.3	62.4	74.1
% of Illiterate	30.9	39.6	31.1
Male	25.1	30.6	15.2
Female	38.2	50.8	25.9
Sex Ratio (per '000 male)	809	821	809
Sex Ratio (0-6 years)	900	903	900
Density of Population	15940	2341	12691
Average Size of Family	6.5	5.3	6.4
Decadal Growth Rate (1991-01)	22.5	77.1	23.4
Work Participation Rate (%)	25.5	26.5	25.6
Male	40.1	41.9	40.2
Female	7.5	7.6	7.5
Main Workers (%)	21.6	24.2	21.7
Marginal Workers (%)	3.9	2.3	3.9
Non-Workers (%)	74.5	73.5	74.4

Source: Census of Uttar Pradesh, 2001 & District Statistical Handbook, Allahabad 2003.

2.5.1 Working Population

Of total population in the city of Allahabad, 25.6 per cent constitute workers. Of total workers, 84.8 per cent are main workers, and 15.2 per cent are marginal workers. 74.4 per cent of total population in the city are considered as non-workers (in the sense of being engaged in economically productive and paid activities). Of the total workers 86.88 per cent are male workers. Of total non-workers, 44.42 per cent are male. Of all main workers in the city, 88.64 per cent are male; of all marginal workers in the city, 77.03 per cent are male (Table–2.4).

Table – 2.4
Classification of Population of Allahabad City on the Basis of Work Categories

Category of Workers	Gender	M. Crop and Other Govt.		Cantonment Board		Total Allahabad City	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Main Workers**	Male	195182	86.4	5161	92.9	200343	84.8
	Female	24995	73.3	673	80.9	25668	73.4
	Total	220177	84.4	5834	91.4	226011	84.8
Marginal **Workers	Male	30733	13.6	394	7.1	31127	13.4
	Female	9124	26.7	158	19.1	9282	26.6
	Total	39857	15.3	552	8.6	40409	15.2
Non-Workers*	Male	336949	59.9	7703	58.1	344652	59.8
	Female	421109	92.5	10048	92.4	431157	92.5
	Total	758058	74.5	17751	73.5	775809	74.4

Contd...

Category of Workers	Gender	M. Crop and Other Govt.		Cantonment Board		Total Allahabad City	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total Workers*	Male	225915	40.1	5555	41.9	231470	40.2
	Female	34119	7.5	831	7.6	34950	7.5
	Total	260034	25.5	6386	26.5	266420	25.6
Total Population	Male	562864	100.0	24137	100.0	1042229	100.0
	Female	562864	100.0	13258	100.0	576122	100.0
	Total	455228	100.0	10879	100.0	466107	100.0

Source: Census of Uttar-Pradesh, 2001

Note: * Percentage calculated on total population, ** Percentage calculated on total Workers

It is very natural that for a city like Allahabad, the percentage of settled population engaged in activities like cultivation, and agricultural labour is very insignificant. The category 'other workers' cover 90.5 per cent of all workers, which needs further identification (Table-2.5).

Table – 2.5
Category-wise Distribution of Workers in Allahabad City

Categories	M. Crop and Other Govt.		Cantonment Board		Total Allahabad City	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Cultivators	3069	1.2	50	0.8	3119	1.2
Agricultural Labour	2691	1.0	66	1.0	2757	1.0
Workers in HHs. Industry	19210	7.4	273	4.3	19483	7.3
Other Workers	235064	90.4	5997	93.9	241061	90.5
Total Workers	260034	100.0	6386	100.0	266420	100.0

Source: Census of Uttar-Pradesh, 2001

2.5.2 Availability of Basic Services

The city of Allahabad has almost all the basic facilities that characterize an urban area. It has as many as 66 post offices, one post office on average serving a total of 15791 population. It has 12 telegraph office, each on average serving a total of 15791 population. It has 12 telegraph office, each on average serving 86852 population. The number of branches of nationalized banks in the city is 101, each branch serving a total of 10,319 on average. It has 12 police station, each on average serving a size of population 86,852. The number of fair price shops in the city is 438, each serving on average 2,379 population. Per 11 persons there is one telephone number in the city. Total pakka roads under local government is 89.06 per cent of total roads under local government. Public Call Office (PCO) booths serve on average 625 population per booth (Table–2.6).

Table – 2.6
Availability of Basic Services Facilities in Allahabad City

Facilities	M. Crop and Other Govt.	Cantonment Board	Total Allahabad City	Per Facilities Dependent Population
Police Station	11	1	12	86852
Fair Price Shops	413	15	438	2379
Cold Storages	16-	-	16	65139
Total Road under Local Body Govt.	968	19	987	94.9
Total Pakka Road under Local Body Govt.	860	19	879	84.5
Branches of Nationalize Banks	101	-	101	10319
Branches of Non-Nationalize Banks	7	1	8	130278
Post-Office	65	1	66	15791
Telegraph Office	12	-	12	86852
Public Call Office	3057	148	3205	325
Telephone Numbers	85925	8030	93955	11

Source: District Statistical Handbooks, Allahabad 2003

2.5.3 Availability of Education and Health Facilities

The city of Allahabad has all educational institutions at multi-layers, each higher layer shows higher size of population dependent on the institution. Thus, the dependency of size of population at the level of junior basic schools stands at 2919 per school which is 7042 for senior basic school per school, and upto 65,139 for university and degree colleges per institution. There are 28 allopathic hospitals in the city, serving on average a population of 37,222. Hospitals of all types are 39, serving on average 26,727 population covering all hospitals. There are four veterinary hospitals in the city (Table–2.7).

Table – 2.7
Availability of Education and Health Facilities in Allahabad City

Facilities	M. Crop and Other Govt.	Cantonment Board	Total Allahabad City	Per Facilities Dependent Population
EDUCATION				
Registered Montessori/Nursery Schools	43	-	43	24238
Junior Basic Schools	352	5	357	2919
Senior Basic Schools	146	2	148	7042
Higher Secondary Schools (Boys)	55	-	55	18950
Higher Secondary Schools (Girls)	39	-	39	26724
University and Degree Colleges	16	-	16	65139
HEALTH				
Allopathic Hospitals	27	1	28	37222
Aarurvedic Hospital	1	-	1	1042229
Unnani Hospital	1	-	1	1042229
Homiyopaoithic Hospital	9	-	9	115803
Total Hospitals (All Types)	38	1	39	26724
Total Available Beds	2338	335	2673	390
FMCW center and Sub- Centres	16	-	16	65139
Veterinary Hospitals	4	-	4	260557

Source: District Statistical Handbooks, Allahabad 2003

CHAPTER THREE

RICKSHAW PULLERS IN THE CITY OF ALLAHABAD: SOME FACTS

For assessing the living conditions, problems and needs of rickshaw pullers and their households, we have assessed the rickshaw pullers by indicators like income, occupations, nature of migration by occupation and area, poverty, health, civic facilities, basic needs, indebtedness and impact of Government sponsored development programmes. There being five administrative regions in Allahabad city, we have drawn the sub sample of rickshaw pullers by equal size (10) from each region. For this study, we have collected secondary data and information from the DUDA and Nagar Nigam, Allahabad, regarding the actual number of rickshaw pullers and the list of slums, where the rickshaw pullers generally reside. For collection of primary data, we depended on the sample of rickshaw pullers through interview using the structured schedule and also from the interview of Khatal owners.

In this study, we found that most of the rickshaw pullers (60%) pulling rickshaws in the city of Allahabad have their roots in U. P., 14 % of them have come from M. P., 10 % from Bihar, 12 % from West Bengal, 2 % each from Rajasthan and Jharkhand. Of the sample rickshaw pullers, 44 % are from SCs, 32 % from OBCs, 18 % from Muslims, and 6 % from General castes. Of the SC rickshaw pullers, 77.3 % are from U. P. and 22.7 % from M. P. The OBC rickshaw pullers are distributed over all the states, excepting West Bengal. Of all the Muslim rickshaw pullers in the sample, 66.7 % are from West Bengal. All the rickshaw pullers from West Bengal are Muslims (Table- 3.1).

Table – 3.1
Distribution of Rickshaw Pullers by Region (By Castes)

State	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Madhya Pradesh	5	22.7	2	12.5	-	-	-	-	7	14.0
Uttar Pradesh	17	77.3	9	56.3	2	22.2	2	66.7	30	60.0
Bihar	-	-	3	18.6	1	11.1	1	33.3	5	10.0
Jharkhand	-	-	1	6.3	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
West Bengal	-	-	-	-	6	66.7	-	-	6	12.0
Rajasthan	-	-	1	6.3	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Total	22	100.0	16	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.1 Demographic and Socio- Economic Profile

For demographic and socio-economic profile of rickshaw pullers and their households, we have collected data on population from the sample rickshaw pullers who pull rickshaws in Allahabad city by caste, gender, age, marital status, education, occupation, income, and land holding.

3.1.1 Population and Households by Caste, Gender, and Residence

As high as 70.07 per cent of the population from the sample rickshaw pullers stay in villages; 28.52 per cent stay in the city of Allahabad, and only 1.41 per cent stay in other towns. Of the population settled in villages, 56.28 per cent are female. Of the population settled in the city of Allahabad, 71.6 per cent are male. Of the total population settled in villages, 59.79 per cent are SCs. Of the population settled in the city of Allahabad, 43.21 per cent are OBCs, and 28.39 per cent are SCs. Only OBCs from the population in the sample are settled in other towns (Table – 3.2).

Table – 3.2
Population by Castes, Gender and Residential Status of Sample Households

Residential Status	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
In Village	53	66	19	22	10	16	5	8	87	112	199
In Allahabad city	20	3	21	14	12	5	5	1	58	23	81
Other towns	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	3	1	4
Total	73	69	43	37	22	21	10	9	148	136	284

Source: Field survey 2005.

The size of population in the sample households (50) stands at 284 at the time of survey that shows household size 5.7 on average. Of this population, 52.82 per cent are unmarried. Excepting one, there is no event of divorce reported so far that shows stable family life for the married rickshaw pullers. By gender division, or sex ratio, of the total population, 52.11 per cent are male and the rest female. By caste categories, 50.0 per cent of the total population in the sample are SCs, 28.17 per cent OBCs, 15.14 per cent Muslims, and only 6.69 per cent general. All the caste categories are uniformly distributed by gender (Table – 3.3).

Table – 3.3
Population by Castes, Gender and Marital Status of Sample Households

Marital Status	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Married	31	31	18	18	10	9	3	5	62	63	125
Unmarried	41	35	23	17	12	11	7	4	83	67	150
Widower	1	3	1	2	-	1	-	-	2	6	8
Divorced	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	73	69	43	37	22	21	10	9	148	136	284

Source: Field survey 2005.

As high as 58.45 per cent of the population in the sample belong to age bracket 15 to 45. In the age bracket below 15, the percentage is 38.73. Thus, a very insignificant percentage of population in the sample reported age above 45, it is 2.84 per cent. Only one male individual reported age above 60. It seems longevity is very low for population in the sample of rickshaw pullers. Of total male population from the sample, 58.78 per cent belong to age bracket 15 to 45; the corresponding percentage for female population is 58.09. The percentage of SC population in this age bracket is 55.63. The similar pattern is true for population from the sample in other social categories, and over gender. The general observation thus is, most of the population from the sample of rickshaw pullers in the city of Allahabad are below the age bracket 45 and very few hope to survive above age 60 (Table – 3.4).

Table – 3.4
Population by Castes, Gender and Age group of Sample Households

Age-Group (Years)	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Below 6	20	12	6	8	5	3	1	1	32	24	56
7 to 14	10	14	8	8	5	4	3	2	26	28	54
15 to 18	6	8	5	1	2	4	1	2	14	15	29
18 to 35	20	18	13	11	5	5	3	2	41	36	77
35 to 45	14	13	11	8	5	5	2	2	32	28	60
45 to 60	2	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	5	7
Above 60	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	73	69	43	37	22	21	10	9	148	136	284

Source: Field survey 2005.

Of all the rickshaw pullers in the sample, 44.0 per cent are SCs, 32.0 per cent are OBCs, 18.0 per cent are Muslims, and 6.0 per cent are general castes. 78.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers are married, 16.0 per cent are unmarried, and 6.0 per cent are widower. Of all the SC rickshaw pullers, 86.4 per cent are married; of all the OBC rickshaw pullers, 68.7 per cent are married; of all the Muslim rickshaw pullers, 66.7 per cent are married. All the rickshaw pullers from general castes are married (Table- 3.5).

Table – 3.5
Marital Status of Rickshaw Pullers by Caste

Social Category	Married		Un-married		Widower		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
SC	19	86.4	2	9.1	1	4.5	22	100.0
OBC	11	68.7	3	18.8	2	12.5	16	100.0
Muslims	6	66.7	3	33.3	-	-	9	100.0
General	3	100.0	-	-	-	-	3	100.0
Total	39	78.0	8	16.0	3	6.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.1.2 Education

As high as 41.90 per cent of the population from the sample rickshaw pullers are illiterate. We have found 2.11 per cent of population from the sample who have attained intermediate level education. Most of the female population (57.35 per cent) are illiterate, this percentage for male is 27.7. We found only two female individuals who have attained high school level education and above. Most of the female population from SCs (63.77 per cent) are illiterate; Female illiteracy is 51.35 per cent among OBCs, 57.14 per cent for Muslims and 33.33 per cent among general caste population. Of the literate population, most have attained education upto primary level (Table – 3.6).

Table – 3.6
Population by Castes, Gender and Education of Sample Households

Education Level	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate	20	44	11	19	9	12	1	3	41	78	119
Literate	9	-	6	2	2	-	1	-	18	2	20
Primary	12	8	12	8	4	4	3	2	31	22	53
Upper Primary	6	5	5	-	2	2	2	1	15	8	23
High school	4	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	6	1	7
Intermediate	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	5	1	6
Not Applicable	20	12	6	8	5	3	1	1	32	24	56
Total	73	69	43	37	22	21	10	9	148	136	284

Source: Field survey 2005.

Of all the rickshaw pullers, 42.0 per cent are illiterate; 14.0 per cent have attained education above primary level. Of all the Muslim rickshaw pullers, 55.5 per cent are illiterate; of all SC rickshaw pullers, 40.9 per cent are illiterate. There is no rickshaw puller from Muslims with education above primary level. We found one rickshaw puller with intermediate level education from OBCs. The rickshaw pullers from general castes have got no formal education. There seems to exist a causal relation between absence of education and rickshaw pulling, and the relation seems to be direct (Table- 3.7).

Table – 3.7
Level of Education of Rickshaw Pullers by Caste

Education Level	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	9	40.9	6	37.5	5	55.5	1	33.3	21	42.0
Literate	8	36.4	5	31.2	3	33.3	2	66.7	18	36.0
Primary	1	4.5	2	12.5	1	11.1	-	-	4	8.0
Upper Primary	3	13.6	1	6.2	-	-	-	-	4	8.0
High School	1	4.5	1	6.2	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
Intermediate	-	-	1	6.2	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Total	22	100.0	16	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.1.3 Occupational Structure

Of all the rickshaw pullers, the distribution of main occupations of the households shows non-agricultural labour as the main occupation for 50.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers. For 20.0 per cent, the main occupation is cultivation. For only 8.0 per cent, rickshaw pulling is the main occupation. For a few, other occupations like carpentry, basket making, masonry etc. are the main occupations. Rickshaw pulling, thus, shows supporting income for 92.0 per cent of the households of the rickshaw pullers. Non-agricultural labour happens to be the main occupation for all the social categories (SCs, OBCs, Muslims) excepting general castes. In the sample, works of a mason and basket making are found in case of SC rickshaw pullers' households. Rickshaw pulling is the main occupation for SCs and Muslims, and not for others. Service is the main occupation for only one household from SCs in the sample. Thus, the households of the rickshaw pullers mainly draw their livelihood from agriculture and non-agricultural labour. Rickshaw pulling remains a support base (Table- 3.8).

Table – 3.8
Main Occupations of Households of Rickshaw Pullers by Caste

Occupations	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cultivator	2	9.1	5	31.2	2	22.2	1	33.3	10	20.0
Agriculture labour	3	13.6	1	6.2	-	-	1	33.3	5	10.0
Non-agriculture labour	10	45.4	9	56.2	5	55.5	1	33.3	25	50.0
Service	1	4.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Rickshaw Pulling	3	13.6	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	4	8.0
Carpentry	-	-	1	6.2	1	11.1	-	-	2	4.0
Mason	1	4.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Basket Making	2	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
Total	22	100.0	16	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

Of the total rickshaw pullers in the sample, the distribution of main occupations shows that most of the households of rickshaw pullers are engaged as non-agricultural labour (50.0 per cent). The other occupations include agriculture (cultivation and agricultural labour), carpentry, masonry, basket making etc. For the households from Bihar, Jharkhand, and Rajasthan, rickshaw pulling is not the main occupation. Of all the rickshaw pullers from UP in the sample, that constitutes 60.0 per cent of total sample, most (50.0 per cent) are mainly engaged as non-agricultural labourers, seen from households' major occupation point of view.

For the migrant rickshaw pullers from MP, the major household occupation is agricultural labour and non-agricultural labour. Generally for the migrant rickshaw pullers, income-support bases like works of a mason, carpentry, basket making etc. are absent. For migrants from West Bengal and Rajasthan, even agricultural

occupations are absent as main occupations for the households. Thus, the migrants, with the exception of MP, either get engaged in non-agricultural occupations and/or migrate to come to cities like Allahabad to pull rickshaws. By migrants, we take here people coming from outside UP. Though the small sample size may not show a firm conclusion as such, the fact remains that initial income-poverty and hence necessity to have support income drive people out to search for jobs like rickshaw pulling (Table – 3.9).

Table – 3.9
Main Occupations of Households of Rickshaw Pullers
(By Castes)

Occupation	M. P.		U. P.		Bihar		Jharkhand		West Bangal		Rajasthan		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cultivator	1	14.3	7	23.3	2	40.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	20.0
Agriculture Labour	3	42.8	1	3.3	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	5	10.0
Non-Agriculture Labour	2	28.6	15	50.0	2	40.0	-	-	5	83.3	1	100.0	25	50.0
Service	-	-	1	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Rickshaw Pulling	1	14.3	2	6.6	-	-	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	4	8.0
Carpenter	-	-	1	3.3	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
Mission	-	-	1	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Basket making	-	-	2	6.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
Total	7	100.0	30	100.0	5	100.0	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

As informed by the rickshaw pullers, the only occupational skill that they have is rickshaw pulling, excepting one who told to have skill to work as a mason. It may be that the question has not been properly understood by the respondents (rickshaw pullers). The fact is that the rickshaw pullers as households are engaged in a number of main occupations like non-agricultural labour (50.0 %), carpentry (4.0 %), agricultural labour (10.0 %), cultivation (2.0 %), basket making (4.0 %) etc., in addition to rickshaw pulling. Rickshaw pulling is the main occupation for only 8.0 % of the respondents.

The traditional occupations include carpentry, basket making, carpet/dari weaving etc. The fact remains that it is 'income-support-system' that works through forced participation of the vulnerable sections of the society in a number of main and supplementary occupations. Generally it is 'forced participation' as opposed to 'diversified jobs' understood in a conventional sense (Table – 3.10).

Table – 3.10
Main and traditional Occupations of Households and Occupational Skill of Rickshaw Pullers

Occupations	Main Occupations of HHs.		Traditional Occupations of HHs.		Occupational skill of Rickshaw Pullers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cultivator	1	2.0	-	-	-	-
Agriculture Labour	5	10.0	-	-	-	-
Non-Agriculture Labour	25	50.0	-	-	-	-
Service	1	2.0	-	-	-	-
Rickshaw Pulling	4	8.0	-	-	49	98.0
Carpet/Dari weaving	-	-	2	4.0	-	-
Bhujai	-	-	1	2.0	-	-
Carpenter	2	4.0	1	2.0	-	-
Mason	1	2.0	-	-	1	2.0
Basket making	2	4.0	2	4.0	-	-
Total	50	100.0	50	100.0	50	100.0

Note: 'Dari' is rope.

Source: Field Survey 2005.

A search into the main occupations (economic activities) of the population from the sample reveals that rickshaw pulling is the main source of income (occupation) for most. This is natural because our sample is constituted by rickshaw pullers. There are also activities that support family income like cultivation, agricultural and non-agricultural labour, small business, traditional work, driving vehicles (not rickshaw), pulling trolleys, service, animal husbandry etc. In some occupations we found female participation, like cultivation, non-agricultural labour, traditional work, bidi works. Pulling rickshaws, trolleys, and driving remains a male job.

We found Muslim population from the sample in cultivation and bidi works as main occupations, in addition to pulling rickshaws, and in no other occupation. This may be because of small size of Muslims in the sample population (15.14). The SCs are there in most of the supporting occupations because of its large size in sample (50.0 per cent). There is no caste/community specific engagement in supporting occupations (**Table – 3.11**).

Table – 3.11
Main Occupations of Sample Population (By Castes and Gender)

Occupations	Gender	SC	OBC	Muslim	General	Total
Cultivator	Male	2	3	3	-	8
	Female	-	-	1	-	1
	Total	2	3	4	-	9
Agricultural Labour	Male	2	-	-	-	2
	Total	2	-	-	-	2

Contd..

Occupations	Gender	SC	OBC	Muslim	General	Total
Non-Agricultural Labour	Male	4	2	-	2	8
	Female	6	3	-	-	9
	Total	10	5	-	2	17
Traditional Work	Female	1	-	-	-	1
	Total	1	-	-	-	1
Small Business	Male	1	-	-	-	1
	Total	1	-	-	-	1
Service	Male	1	2	-	-	3
	Total	1	2	-	-	3
Rickshaw Pulling	Male	25	16	9	3	53
	Total	25	16	9	3	53
Trolley Pulling	Male	1	-	-	-	1
	Total	1	-	-	-	1
Driver	Male	1	-	-	-	1
	Total	1	-	-	-	1
Mechanic	Male	-	1	-	-	1
	Total	-	1	-	-	1
Livestock	Male	-	1	-	-	1
	Total	-	1	-	-	1
Bidi Works	Female	1	-	3	-	4
	Total	1	-	3	-	4
House Wives	Female	37	18	11	5	71
	Total	37	18	11	5	71
Students	Male	12	11	3	4	30
	Female	8	5	2	3	18
	Total	20	16	5	7	48
No Work	Male	4	1	2	-	7
	Female	4	3	1	-	8
	Total	8	4	3	-	15
Not Applicable	Male	20	6	5	1	32
	Female	12	8	3	1	24
	Total	31	14	8	2	56
Total	Male	73	43	22	10	148
	Female	69	37	21	9	136
	Total	142	80	43	19	284

Source: Field survey 2005.

Only 12.67 per cent of the population from the sample have reported supplementary occupations. Non-agricultural labour and cultivation cover most of those occupations. We also found agricultural labour, hawking and traditional work. In each such supplementary occupation, only one person has been engaged during the period of survey (report). One of the rickshaw pullers has also 'Khatal' business. Thus, rickshaw pulling as a source of households' income is reported to be not adequate for survival. The rickshaw pullers need to support their income by other occupations (Table – 3.12).

Table – 3.12
Supplementary Occupations of Sample Population
(By Castes and Gender)

Occupations	Gender	SC	OBC	Muslim	General	Total
Cultivator	Male	3	4	-	1	8
	Female	2	1	-	-	3
	Total	5	5	-	1	11
Agricultural Labour	Female	-	-	1	-	1
	Total	-	-	1	-	1
Non-Agricultural Labour	Male	10	7	2	1	20
	Female	1	-	-	-	1
	Total	11	7	2	1	21
Traditional Work	Female	1	-	-	-	1
	Total	1	-	-	-	1
Khatal Business	Male	-	1	-	-	1
	Total	-	1	-	-	1
Pheri/Hawker	Male	1	-	-	-	1
	Total	1	-	-	-	1
House Wives	Female	8	2	4	-	14
	Total	8	2	4	-	14
No Work	Male	39	25	14	7	85
	Female	45	26	14	8	93
	Total	84	51	28	15	178
Not Applicable	Male	20	6	5	1	32
	Female	12	8	3	1	24
	Total	31	14	8	2	56
Total	Male	73	43	22	10	148
	Female	69	37	21	9	136
	Total	142	80	43	19	284

Source: Field survey 2005.

As reported, the rickshaw pullers in the city of Allahabad had been involved in a number of jobs before they joined rickshaw pulling. These activities/jobs were cultivation, agricultural labour, non-agricultural labour, traditional work, domestic servants, mason, driver, bidi making, basket making, trolley pulling etc. Most of them (30.0 %) were engaged as non-agricultural labourers; 26.0 % were engaged as agricultural labourer; 28.0 % as cultivators; only 8.0 % were previously engaged as rickshaw pullers before they entered into Allahabad for the same job. 20.0 % of the rickshaw pullers were unemployed/ not-engaged in any productive activities before joining the job of rickshaw pulling in the city of Allahabad. There are regional variations in the distribution of past occupations/ activities of the people who migrated to the city of Allahabad to be rickshaw pullers. While rickshaw pullers from U. P. migrating to Allahabad city represent all kinds of activities that are mentioned, perhaps because of the large sub-sample from U. P., the rickshaw pullers from other states show some people who ultimately migrated to the city of Allahabad (Table – 3.13).

Table – 3.13
Occupations of Rickshaw Pullers before Pulling Rickshaws in Allahabad City

Occupations	M.P.		U.P.		Bihar		Jharkhand		West Bangal		Rajasthan		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cultivator	2	14.3	10	71.4	-	-	1	7.1	1	7.1	-	-	14	100.0
Agriculture Labour	5	38.5	4	30.8	1	7.7	1	7.7	2	15.4	-	-	13	100.0
Non-Agriculture Labour	2	13.3	6	40.0	3	20.0	1	6.7	2	13.3	1	6.7	15	100.0
Small business	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	50.0	1	50.0	2	100.0
Traditional work	1	16.7	4	66.7	-	-	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	6	100.0
Rickshaw Pulling	1	25.0	3	75.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	100.0
Domestic servant	-	-	2	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	100.0
Carpet/Dari weaving	-	-	2	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	100.0
Mason/Rajdar	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0
Bidi making	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0
Driver	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0
Mobile Sale	-	-	3	60.0	-	-	-	-	1	20.0	1	20.0	5	100.0
Basket making	-	-	2	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	100.0
Trolley Pulling	-	-	1	33.3	1	33.3	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	3	100.0
Doing nothing	1	10.0	5	50.0	2	20.0	-	-	2	20.0	-	-	10	100.0
Total	7	14.0	30	60.0	5	10.0	1	2.0	6	12.0	1	2.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

The reasons why the rickshaw pullers gave up the past occupations include many factors like income, health, distance, nature of job and company, superannuation, accident, social respect, natural calamities etc. As high as 80.0 % of the rickshaw pullers reported to have left past job /activities/occupation. Of these 70.0 % left because of low income, 32.5 % reported that jobs were not full time (permanent), 17.5 % reported that they did not get full payment (wage/salary), 10.0 % reported that there was no social respect in the past job etc. (Table- 3.14).

Table – 3.14
Reasons for giving up the Past Occupations by Rickshaw Pullers

Condition	No.	%
Low Income	28	70.0
Poor Health	5	12.5
Long distance from Residence	5	12.5
Driven out by the owners	6	15.0
Company closed	1	2.5
Retirement from job	1	2.5
Job not available Full-time	13	32.5
Exploitation by the owner/contractor	4	10.0
Accident/Tragedy	1	2.5
Did not get full payment	7	17.5
During free time	6	15.0
Natural calamities	2	5.0
No social respect	4	10.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

Most of the rickshaw pullers are not involved in occupations other than pulling rickshaws. Most of those who seek other jobs are from within U. P. for support income, or enhancement of family income. 26.0 % of the rickshaw pullers get also

involved in wage work. Of those who get involved in wage work, 76.92 % are from U. P. The other kinds of jobs that the rickshaw pullers do include 'working under contractor' (casual labour), working as a vendor (selling vegetables, fish, and fruits), wage work in hotels, mobile sale of goods. 10.0 % work as vendor, 4.0 % work as mobile sellers of goods, 2.0 % as wage labour (part time) in hotels and 2.0 % work under contractor. Thus, the rickshaw pullers depend mainly, if not totally, on pulling rickshaws. The other jobs, if available, supplement their family income, which is insignificant (Table – 3.15).

Table – 3.15
Rickshaw Pullers involved in different occupations during last year (2004-05)

Duration	M.P.		U.P.		Bihar		Jharkhand		West Bengal		Rajasthan		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Wage work	1	14.3	10	33.3	-	-	1	100.0	1	16.7	-	-	13	26.0
Work under contractor	-	-	-	-	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Fish/vegetable/Fruit selling	-	-	4	13.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	5	10.0
Wage work in hotel/house	1	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Rickshaw pulling	7	100.0	30	100.0	5	100.0	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	50	100.0
Mobile sale of goods	-	-	1	3.3	1	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
Total	7	100.0	30	100.0	5	100.0	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.1.4 Income by Population from Sample Households

The range of variation in reported (estimated) income per month of the population from the sample is very high. 8.8 per cent of the population have reported income in the range Rs. 500.00 to Rs. 1000.00 p.m. 7.39 per cent of the population earn income per month between Rs. 2000.00 and Rs. 2500.00. Excepting two individuals, all the population earn income per month below Rs. 4500.00. These percentages of population will be different if we exclude non-earning population whose percentage is 67.25. Of the earning population, 92.47 per cent fall in the monthly income bracket Rs. 500.00 to Rs. 3000.00. Thus, the variation in income within the earning population remains high.

Of the total male population (148), 52.02 per cent are earners, while of the female population (136), 11.76 per cent are earners. The female earners are only from very low income earning bracket (below Rs. 1000.00 p.m.). All the women from the general castes are non-earners, which is not true for others like SCs, OBCs and Muslims (Table – 3.16).

Table – 3.16
Income of Population from Sample per month (By Castes and Gender)

Income level (in Rs.)	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Below 500	-	4	2	1	1	3	-	-	3	8	11
500-1000	8	6	1	2	-	-	-	-	9	8	17
1001-1500	6	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	11	-	11
1501-2000	8	-	5	-	2	-	2	-	17	-	17
2001-2500	8	-	9	-	4	-	-	-	21	-	21
2501-3000	6	-	2	-	4	-	-	-	12	-	12
3001-4500	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	2
8000	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
12000	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Non Earning	36	59	19	34	11	18	5	9	71	120	191
Total	73	69	43	37	22	21	10	9	148	136	284

Source: Field survey 2005.

The earning population from the sample earn on average Rs. 1900.00 per month. This is weighted average monthly income over all earning population that covers monthly income as low as below Rs. 1000.00 and as high as above Rs. 8000.00. The average income per month of male population from SCs is Rs. 2024.00, which is Rs. 2176.00 covering all caste categories. The average income per month of female population overall is Rs. 572.00 which is absent for female population from general castes. Reported female income of the earning population from the sample of rickshaw pullers, thus, is much less than the male income.

The average income per month of male population from SCs is Rs. 2,024/-, which is Rs. 630/- for female population from SCs. The female population from SCs do not earn above Rs. 1,000/-. The average income per month of male population from OBCs is Rs. 2,679/-, which is Rs.553/- for female OBC population. No female OBC earns per month above Rs.1,000/-. The average income per month of male population from Muslims is Rs. 2,409/- which is Rs. 400.00 for female Muslim population. There is no Muslim population in the sample who earns more than Rs. 500.00. There is no female earning population from the general castes in the sample. The average monthly income of general castes is Rs. 1980.00, with nobody in the income range below Rs. 1500.00 and above Rs. 4500.00 (**Table – 3.17**).

Table – 3.17
Average Monthly Income of Earning Population (By Castes and Gender)

(In Rs.)

Income Level (in Rs.)	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Average Income		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Upto 500	-	450	500	60	500	400	-	-	500	382	414
500-1000	975	750	1000	800	-	-	-	-	978	762	876
1001-1500	1500	-	1400	-	-	-	1200	-	1418	-	1418
1501-2000	2000	-	1920	-	2000	-	2000	-	1976	-	1976
2001-2500	2450	-	2500	-	2500	-	-	-	2481	-	2481
2501-3000	3000	-	3000	-	3000	-	-	-	3000	-	3000
3001-4500	4500	-	-	-	-	-	3500	-	4000	-	4000
8000	-	-	8000	-	-	-	-	-	8000	-	8000
12000	-	-	12000	-	-	-	-	-	12000	-	12000
Total	2024	630	2679	553	2409	400	1980	-	2176	572	1900

Source: Field survey 2005.

The average income per household per month generally varies between Rs. 1500.00 and Rs. 5000.00. As high as 84.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers are covered within this range. 18.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers fall in each of the income bracket, between Rs. 2000.00 and Rs. 2500.00, between Rs. 2500.00 and Rs. 3000.00, between Rs. 3000.00 and Rs. 4000.00. Thus, there is wide range of variations in monthly income per household for even middle-income bracket (Rs. 2000.00 to Rs. 4000.00) that covers 54.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers. There are, in the sample, only three rickshaw pullers from general caste, so that intra-general caste income distribution does not carry much sense. It carries sense in case of mainly SCs and OBCs who cover 76.0 per cent of all rickshaw pullers in the sample. The modal monthly household income bracket for the SCs is Rs. 3000.00 to Rs. 4000.00. The modal income bracket for OBCs is Rs. 2000.00 to Rs. 2500.00 per month per household. For Muslim rickshaw pullers, the modal income bracket is Rs. 2500.00 to Rs. 3000.00. Muslims constitute 18.0 per cent of all sample rickshaw pullers. Generally, thus, income per month per household varies between Rs. 2000.00 and Rs. 4000.00 for most of the rickshaw pullers (**Table – 3.18**).

Table – 3.18
Average Monthly Income of Sample Households (By Castes) -

Income Level (in Rs.)	Particulars	SC	OBC	Muslims	General	Total
Below 1500	Number	-	1	-	-	1
	PHHMI	-	1200	-	-	1200
1500 to 2000	Number	3	3	1	1	8
	PHHMI	1933	1933	2000	2000	1950
2001 to 2500	Number	3	5	1	-	9
	PHHMI	2366	2480	2500	-	2444
2501 to 3000	Number	3	1	5	-	9
	PHHMI	3000	3000	2940	-	2966

Contd...

Income Level (in Rs.)	Particulars	SC	OBC	Muslims	General	Total
3001 to 4000	Number	6	1	1	1	9
	PHHMI	3550	4000	4000	3500	3644
4001 to 5000	Number	3	2	1	1	7
	PHHMI	4666	4500	4500	4400	4557
5001 to 6000	Number	1	1	-	-	2
	PHHMI	5500	5560	-	-	5530
6001 to 8000	Number	3	1	-	-	4
	PHHMI	7000	8000	-	-	7250
Above 8000	Number	-	1	-	-	1
	PHHMI	-	17000	-	-	17000
Total	Number	22	16	9	3	50
	PHHMI	3804	4122	3078	3300	3745
Per Capita Monthly Income		589	824	644	521	659
Average Family Size		6.4	5.0	4.8	6.3	5.7

Source: Field survey 2005.

Note: PHHMI = Per Household monthly Income in Rupees.

3.1.5 Land Holding Pattern

Housing of the income-poor generally does not show the 'productive means' which in rural region agricultural landholding shows. So, we considered the sample rickshaw pullers by their possession of agricultural landholding. Of all the rickshaw pullers migrating to the city of Allahabad from within UP, 56.66 per cent are landless; 80.0 per cent from Bihar are landless, 83.33 per cent from West Bengal are landless, which is 57.14 per cent for MP. Of all the sample rickshaw pullers, 64.0 per cent are landless. Excepting 13.33 per cent of the rickshaw pullers migrating from within UP, no one owns agricultural land more than 3.0 acres. Excepting two rickshaw pullers from UP and one from Bihar, no one owns agricultural land above 2.0 acres. Landlessness and marginal landholding (less than 2.0 acres) is a major factor to drive the population out from the root. These people become rootless when they are forced to migrate to a city like Allahabad to pull rickshaws (Table- 3.19).

Table – 3.19
Distribution of Households on the basis of Size of Agricultural Land

States	Landless		0.5 Acre		0.5 - 1 Acre		1 - 2 Acre		2 - 3 Acre		3 - 4 Acre		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Madhya Pradesh	4	12.5	-	-	3	60.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	14.0
Uttar Pradesh	17	53.1	3	100.0	2	40.0	2	66.7	2	66.7	4	100.0	30	60.0
Bihar	4	12.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	5	10.0
Jharkhand	1	3.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
West Bengal	5	15.6	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	6	12.0
Rajasthan	1	3.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Total	32	100.0	3	100.0	5	100.0	3	100.0	3	100.0	4	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

36 % of the sample rickshaw pullers own agricultural land. Of those having agricultural land, 72.2 % are from U. P. The average landholding for those in U. P. having land is 1.79 acre. For M. P. this average is 0.75 acre, West Bengal 1.26 acre, Bihar 2.52 acre. Excepting U. P., the average do not show much meaning because of small size. The only fact that remains is small average agricultural landholding of those who migrated to the city of Allahabad to be drawn into rickshaw pulling. The area cultivated remains less than the area owned for these migrating population. On average, total cultivated land as percentage of total agricultural land owned by the migrating rickshaw pullers remains 67.02 (Table- 3.20).

Table – 3.20
State-wise Average Agriculture Land and Land Cultivated during Last Year
(Area in Acre)

States	Total Agriculture Land			Total Cultivated Land*	
	No. of HHs	Area	Average per HHs land	Total Farming Land	Per HHs Farming Land
Madhya Pradesh	3	2.27	0.75	1.89	0.63
Uttar Pradesh	13	23.30	1.79	14.78	1.14
Bihar	1	2.52	2.52	2.00	2.00
Jharkhand	-	-	-	-	-
West Bengal	1	1.26	1.26	1.00	1.00
Rajasthan	-	-	-	-	-
Total	18	29.35	1.63	19.67	1.09

Source: Field Survey 2005.

Note: * The Land Cultivated during last year.

3.2 Living Conditions of Rickshaw Pullers

We have examined the living conditions of rickshaw pullers and their households based on some selected indicators like health, food security, migration, poverty, and outstanding loans of households. For this purpose, we have collected data from rickshaw pullers and Khatal owners of Allahabad city.

3.2.1 Borrowing by Rickshaw Pullers

Of all rickshaw pullers in the sample, 24.0 % took loans during last five years (2000-2005). This covers all states, excepting Jharkhand and Rajasthan, each of which represents only one rickshaw puller in the sample. Of those who took loans, 50.0 % are from U. P. Of the rickshaw pullers from U. P. 20.0 % took loans. Only one rickshaw puller from M. P. took loans. Of those who took loans, 33.3 % are from each of SCs and OBCs, and 25.0 % from Muslims. All SC borrowers are from U. P., while OBC borrowers are from U. P., M. P. and Bihar. All borrowers from West Bengal are Muslims, and all Muslim borrowers are from West Bengal. 76.0 % of the rickshaw pullers have not borrowed money during last five years (Table – 3.21).

Table – 3.21
Rickshaw Pullers Taking Loans During Last Five Years (2000-2005)

States	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total Loans taken		Total HHs.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Madhya Pradesh	-	-	1	14.3	-	-	-	-	1	14.3	7	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	4	13.3	1	3.3	-	-	1	3.3	6	20.0	30	100.0
Bihar	-	-	2	40.0	-	-	-	-	2	40.0	5	100.0
Jharkhand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0
West Bengal	-	-	-	-	3	50.0	-	-	3	50.0	6	50.0
Rajasthan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0
Total	4	8.0	4	8.0	3	6.0	1	2.0	12	24.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.2.1.1 Sources and Reasons of Borrowing

The major sources of borrowing by rickshaw pullers are moneylenders (informal) which is reported by 41.7 % of the borrowers. The other major sources are village neighbours/ local people, friends and relatives. Institutional sources have remained non-functioning as a source of borrowing by rickshaw pullers, excepting for one. The reasons for borrowing are social rituals (Marriage/Death etc.) as reported by 41.7 %, illness as reported by 25.0 %, construction of house (25.0 % reporting), purchase of animals (25.0 % reporting), and general livelihood (8.3 % reporting). There are multiple responses from some rickshaw pullers to borrowing money (Table – 3.22).

Table – 3.22
Sources and Reasons of Borrowing

Particulars	Sources/Reasons	No.	%
Sources of Loans	Moneylenders	5	41.7
	Bank	1	8.3
	Villagers/Local People	3	25.0
	Friends	1	8.3
	Relatives	2	16.6
Reasons of Borrowing	Illness	3	25.0
	Marriage/Death	5	41.7
	Purchase of Rickshaw	1	8.3
	Purchase of Animal	3	25.0
	Livelihood	1	8.3
	Construction of House	3	25.0
	Others (Education)	1	8.3
Total		12	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.2.1.2 Borrowing, Outstanding Loans and Rate of Interest

The average loan taken stands at Rs. 12183/-, of which outstanding loan (due) stands at Rs. 10500/- on average for those rickshaw pullers who took loans. One-third of those who took loans took between Rs. 10,000/- and 20,000/-. One-sixth borrowed money less than Rs 2,000/-, while one-fourth borrowed money between Rs. 2,000/- and 5,000/-; another one-sixth of the rickshaw pullers borrowed money

between Rs. 5,000/- and 10,000/-. For one-third of the rickshaw pullers, outstanding loan lies between Rs. 10,000/- and 20,000/-. One-sixth of the rickshaw pullers have repaid loans. For 41.7 % of the borrowers, the rate of interest is 120.0 % per annum. For one third of the borrowers, it is interest free. For one sixth of the borrowers, the rate of interest per annum is 60.0 %. Excepting the 'no-interest' cases, the rate of interest per annum on borrowing ranges between 60.0 % and 120.0 % (Table – 3.23).

Table – 3.23
Borrowing, Outstanding Loans and Rate of Interest

Particulars	Amount (in Rs.)	Number	Percent
Borrowing (in Rs.)	Below 2000	2	16.6
	2000 to 5000	3	25.0
	5000 to 10000	2	16.6
	10000 to 20000	4	33.3
	Above 20000	1	8.3
	Average Amount (in Rs.)		12183.0
Outstanding Loans	Below 5000	2	16.6
	5000 to 10000	3	25.0
	10000 to 20000	4	33.3
	Above 20000	1	8.3
	Amount Paid	2	16.6
	Average Amount (in Rs.)		10500.0
Annual Rate of Interest	No Interest	4	33.3
	60%	2	16.6
	100%	1	8.3
	120%	5	41.7
	Average Rate of Interest		102.5
Total		12	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.2.2 Saving Account of Rickshaw Pullers

As high as 48.0 % of the rickshaw pullers do not save from what they earn. Of those who do not save, most are from U. P. (62.5 %). This is natural because of large sub-sample from U. P. (60.0 % of all rickshaw pullers). 26.0 % of rickshaw pullers keep saved money with themselves, and only 4.0 % deposit savings in banks. 20.0 % of rickshaw pullers save with 'Bisi'. Only 2.0 % of rickshaw pullers keep saving with owners of rickshaws that they pull. Those who keep savings with themselves are uniformly distributed over states from where people migrate to Allahabad to pull rickshaws. The only rickshaw pullers who save with banks are only two and from U. P. Rickshaw pullers do not have banking habit excepting these two cases from the sample. Most of the non-savers are from U. P., M. P., and Bihar who pull rickshaws in city of Allahabad (Table – 2.24).

Table – 3.24
Institutions where Rickshaw Pullers Deposit their Savings

States	Self		Bisi*		Bank		Rickshaw owners		Do not save		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
M.P.	1	7.7	3	30.0	-	-	-	-	3	12.5	7	14.0
U.P.	6	46.1	6	60.0	2	100.0	1	100.0	15	62.5	30	60.0
Bihar	1	7.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	16.7	5	10.0
Jharkhand	1	7.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
W. Bengal	3	23.1	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	2	8.3	6	12.0
Rajasthan	1	7.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Total	13	100.0	10	100.0	2	100.0	1	100.0	24	100.0	50	100.0

Note: *A group of persons who open a self account (informal). The number of persons in the group may vary depending on the earners and savers. Perhaps the term 'Bisi' has come from 'Bis' (which means twenty)

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.2.2 Migration

60.0 per cent of the sample rickshaw pullers pulling rickshaws in the city are from UP itself; 36.0 are from MP, 10.0 per cent from Bihar, 12.0 per cent from West Bengal, only one (2.0 per cent) each from Jharkhand and Rajasthan. Of the rickshaw pullers whose root is in the state of UP, the district Allahabad is the root for 60.0 per cent, the rest have migrated from near and remote districts like Banda and Chitrakoot in the Bundelkhand region, from districts like Pratapgarh, Balia, Kaushambi, Raibareli, Jaunpur, and Fatehpur in east UP. In our sample, thus, the rickshaw pullers migrated from relatively underdeveloped regions like east UP and Bundelkhand, and not from relatively better off regions like west and central U.P.

It is interesting to find a number of districts in a number of states which show migration of economically vulnerable sections to the city of Allahabad to work as rickshaw pullers. There is, however, no direct link between underdevelopment of a region and out-migration. Of all the sample rickshaw pullers, 40.0 per cent stay alone, 26.0 per cent stay with family; 14.0 per cent do not live in the city who come from adjoining villages (**Table- 3.25**).

Table – 3.25
Root of the Rickshaw Pullers Living in the City of Allahabad
(By State and District)

Native States	Native Districts	Live in Allahabad City With						Total
		Alone	Family	Family Member	Other Rickshaw Pullers	Relatives	Not in City	
Madhya Pradesh	Bilaspur	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Rewa	1	-	2	-	1	-	4
	Sidhi	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
	Sub-Total	3	-	2	1	1	-	7

Contd...

Native States	Native Districts	Live in Allahabad City With						Total
		Alone	Family	Family Member	Other Rickshaw Pullers	Relatives	Not in City	
Uttar Pradesh	Allahabad	4	8	-	-	-	6	18
	Banda	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	Pratapgarh	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	Balia	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
	Kaushambi	2	-	-	1	-	1	4
	Raebareli	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
	Jaunpur	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Fatehpur	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	Chitrakoot	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Sub-Total	8	10	2	2	1	7	30
Bihar	Nalanda	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
	Kishanganj	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Katihar	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Motihari	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	Sub-Total	3	2	-	-	-	-	5
Jharkhand	Sahebganj	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	Sub-Total	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
West Bengal	Malda	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
	Midanapur	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
	Sub-Total	5	1	-	-	-	-	6
Rajasthan	Kota	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Sub-Total	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Grand Total		20	13	4	4	2	7	50

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.2.2.1 Reasons for Entry into the Job

The reasons behind the involuntarily entry into the job of rickshaw pulling are reportedly the following: For 57.1 %, no choice exists (no alternative job available); for 31.4 %, wage employment on daily basis was not available; for 17.1 %, income in other jobs are low (related to expected income in rickshaw pulling); for 17.1 %, required capital (money) in other activities were not available. There are other reasons like long distance between place of stay and place of work (11.4 % reporting), discarded by family (5.7 %) (Table – 3.26).

Table – 3.26
Reasons for Entry into the Job of Rickshaw Pulling

Reasons	No.	%
Not getting daily wage work	11	31.4
No options for other jobs	20	57.1
Long distance from home	4	11.4
No capital for other jobs	6	17.1
Factory closed	1	2.9
Discarded by family	2	5.7
Low income in other jobs	6	17.1
Total	35	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.2.3 Food Security and Hunger

Generally the families of rickshaw pullers suffer from hunger during some specific months in a year. Based on our field report, we found that these months are January, July, August, and September. A varying per cent of the households get affected because of hunger during these months. However, the number of households, thus, suffering reaches 10.0 % and above during July and August. The average number of persons being affected by hunger is also large during July and August (Table – 3.27).

Table – 3.27
Hunger of Rickshaw Pullers' Family during some Months of last year (2004-05)

Month	Average No. of days	No. of HHs affected	No. of Persons affected
January	15	1	4
July	8	5	19
August	12	7	27
December	10	2	9
Total	45	15	59
Of sample (in %)	-	30.0	20.8

Note: These persons could not get adequate meal during these months.

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.2.4 Main Disturbance-Makers for Rickshaw Pullers

The rickshaw pullers in the city of Allahabad feel disturbed because of many administrative-cum-civil categories, which include police, Nagar Nigam officials, higher public officials, students, and passengers in general. As reported by 48.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers, the police create disturbance for them. Only 10.0 per cent reported that Nagar Nigam creates disturbance. As high as 58.0 per cent reported that passengers in general create disturbance. Generally, the reporting about higher public officials creating disturbance is less. Disturbance by police is reported by rickshaw pullers from all the regions of the city, while reporting on Nagar Nigam creating disturbance came from all regions, excepting south (Table- 3.28).

Table – 3.28
Main Disturbance-Makers for Rickshaw Pullers

Areas	Police		NN Officials		Higher Officials		Students		Passengers		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
South	5	20.8	-	-	-	-	1	14.3	2	6.9	10	20.0
West	4	16.7	2	40.0	1	50.0	1	14.3	7	24.1	10	20.0
North	5	20.8	1	20.0	-	-	3	42.8	5	17.2	10	20.0
Central	3	12.5	1	20.0	1	50.0	1	14.3	6	20.7	10	20.0
East	7	29.2	1	20.0	-	-	1	14.3	9	31.1	10	20.0
Total	24	100.0	5	100.0	2	100.0	7	100.0	29	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.2.5 Exploitation

Most of the rickshaw pullers informed that they do not get proper (fixed) fare for carrying passengers. The rickshaw pullers also informed about being abused, being beaten etc. There are some rickshaw pullers, who also informed that they are suspected by others to be involved in criminal activities, and hence, they are harassed, their hard earned money often snatched away etc. Some of them reported that on average they need to pay Rs. 50/- per month to Allahabad Nagar Nigam officials. In reporting exploitation, mostly the rickshaw pullers accuse the police, who are charged with all kinds of exploitation, excepting taking money periodically (**Table-3.29**).

Table – 3.29
Types of Exploitation Faced by Rickshaw Pullers

Types of Exploitation	Police		NN Officials		Higher Public Officials		Students		Passengers		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fare not paid	15	62.5	-	-	-	-	4	66.7	21	72.4	40	80.0
Beating	7	29.1	2	40.0	1	50.0	3	50.0	5	17.2	18	36.0
Abusing	18	75.0	2	40.0	1	50.0	2	33.3	15	51.7	38	76.0
Harassment	1	4.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Suspected criminal activities	2	8.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
Less fare given	5	20.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10.0
Snatching of Money	1	4.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
They take a fixed Rs. 50/- per month	-	-	2	40.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
Total	24	100.0	5	100.0	2	100.0	6	100.0	29	100.0	50*	100.0

Note: * Total sample Respondents.

Source: Field Survey 2005.

The rickshaw pullers are very much afraid of police uniform (potential threat to them). The other reason cited by the rickshaw pullers include the location where they stand to draw passengers, suspected intoxication, etc. The police (in uniform) torture rickshaw pullers because of (wrong) location where rickshaws stand, and general power to torture (because of uniform). The Nagar Nigam officials' torture rickshaw pullers for the greed for money, that is, applying the power to take away money from the rickshaw pullers, the officials also threat rickshaw- pullers. The general passengers are also involved reportedly in torturing rickshaw pullers for alleged intoxication of the latter while in the job, wrong location of rickshaw stand, threat, taking away money from the latter etc. The essence is that the rickshaw pullers in the city of Allahabad are afraid of many kinds of torture by a number of people that include police, Nagar Nigam officials, students, and passengers in general (**Table-3.30**).

Table – 3.30
Reasons for Exploitation (Perception of Rickshaw Pullers)

Reasons	Police		NN Officials		Higher Public Officials		Students		Passenger		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Standing location	9	37.5	-	-	2	100.0	-	-	-	-	11	22.0
Intoxication	1	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	13.8	5	10.0
Greed for money	1	4.2	2	40.0	-	-	-	-	3	10.3	6	12.0
To save their earned money	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	66.7	7	24.1	11	22.0
Threat (Police Uniform)	17	70.8	1	20.0	-	-	3	50.0	3	10.3	24	48.0
Not applicable	-	-	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	14	42.3	15	30.0
No Response	-	-	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Total	24	100.0	5	100.0	2	100.0	6	100.0	29	100.0	50*	100.0

Note: * Total sample Respondents.

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.2.6 Health

18.0 % of the rickshaw pullers reported to have been suffering from a number of diseases like pain in backbone, boils in hand and legs, pain in chest, pain in stomach, asthma, and epilepsy (**Table – 3.31**).

Table – 3.31
Diseases Reported by Rickshaw Pullers
(Including diseases of their Family members)

Disease	Households		Family members		Rickshaw pullers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Asthma	4	22.2	5	38.5	1	11.1
Tuberculosis	2	11.1	2	15.7	-	-
Pain in backbone	3	16.7	1	7.4	2	22.2
Pain in stomach	1	5.5	-	-	1	11.1
Rheumatism	3	16.7	2	15.7	1	11.1
Boils in hands/legs	2	11.1	-	-	2	22.2
Pain in chest	1	5.5	-	-	1	11.1
Mental problems	1	5.5	1	7.4	-	-
Heart problems	1	5.5	1	7.4	-	-
Epilepsy	2	22.2	1	7.4	1	11.1
Total	18	100.0	13	100.0	9	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

Of the 18 rickshaw pullers (36.0 % of total), 50.0 % go to private doctors for treatment (health services), 27.8 % go to government hospitals, 27.8 % go to medical shops to buy medicines (on suggestions of shop owner/keeper probably), and 5.6 % depend on Ojhas (**Table- 3.32**).

Table – 3.32
Health Services availed by Rickshaw Pullers

Services	No.	%
Government hospital/Doctors	5	27.8
Private Doctors	9	50.0
Medical shops	5	27.8
Domestic treatment	2	11.1
Exorcism (Ojha, etc.)	1	5.6
Total	18	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.2.7 Needs for Betterment

The rickshaw pullers feel the need to improve their living condition in the city. Most of them (32.0 %) think about having a shelter in the city, while many need easy loan (at low interest) to start any support activity/ business (for support income). Some of them (10.0 %) think to have rickshaws for pulling on low rent or rent free rickshaws. Some others (8.0 %) think about getting land on lease to stay; some think about getting rickshaws (on ownership) for payment under installment. There are also rickshaw pullers who think to get other permanent/ full time job, employment for relatives etc. Rickshaw pullers also think about proper rickshaw stand, and also social respect (Table – 3.33).

Table – 3.33
Needs of Rickshaw Pullers for better living in the City

Needs	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Free/Low rent Rickshaw	3	13.6	1	6.2	-	-	1	33.3	5	10.0
Rickshaw stand in city	1	4.5	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	2	4.0
Shelter for rest	4	18.2	6	37.5	5	55.5	1	33.3	16	32.0
Other permanent job	2	9.1	-	-	-	-	2	66.7	4	8.0
Easy loan at low interest	5	22.7	3	18.7	2	22.2	1	33.3	11	22.0
Free house	2	9.1	5	31.2	-	-	-	-	7	14.0
Land given on lease	3	13.6	1	6.2	-	-	-	-	4	8.0
Employment for other adult family members	3	13.6	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	4	8.0
Provision for giving Rickshaw on installment	1	4.5	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	2	4.0
Social respect	1	4.5	1	6.2	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
No Response	-	-	1	6.2	1	11.1	-	-	2	4.0
Total	22	100.0	16	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3 Rickshaw Pulling and Pullers : Some Facts

In this section, we present some facts on rickshaw pulling and pullers by indicators like the age of entry, reasons for joining the job, ownership of rickshaw, role of Nagar Nigam, Allahabad and impact of government programmes.

3.3.1 Age of Entry in the Job of Rickshaw Pulling

Excepting 6.0 % of the rickshaw pullers, there is no entry of individuals below the age of 15 (as child rickshaw pullers). 36.0 % of the rickshaw pullers joined the job when they had been between 15 and 20 years old. 38.0 % joined in the age bracket between 20 and 30 years; 18.0 % joined between 30 and 40 years. Only one individual in the sample joined the after attaining 40 years. From those who joined the job after attaining 30 years, almost all are from U. P. (88.9 %), excepting one from Bihar (11.1 %).

Thus, those who migrate from other (adjoining) states, have entered into the job before attaining 30 years. We find most of the entries in the job between 15 and 30 years, that establishes the general age of entry into the job market. This is true absolutely for migrants from M. P., West Bengal, Rajasthan, and Jharkhand. The entry of population as rickshaw pullers confirms the same scenario (**Table-3.34**).

Table – 3.34
Age of Entry of Rickshaw Pullers

States	Below 15 Year		15 – 20 Year		20 – 30 Year		30 – 40 Year		Above 40 Year		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Madhya Pradesh	-	-	4	22.2	3	15.8	-	-	-	-	7	14.0
Uttar Pradesh	2	66.7	9	50.0	10	52.6	8	88.9	1	100.0	30	60.0
Bihar	1	33.3	1	11.1	2	10.5	1	11.1	-	-	5	10.0
Jharkhand	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
West Bangal	-	-	3	33.3	3	15.8	-	-	-	-	6	12.0
Rajasthan	-	-	-	-	1	5.3	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Total	3	100.0	18	100.0	19	100.0	9	100.0	1	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.2 Joining the job of Rickshaw Pulling

Of all the rickshaw pullers, 70.0 % reported that they joined the job involuntarily (helplessness/unable to do any other job). Of these involuntary (choice of last resort) entry into the job of rickshaw pulling, most are from SCs (57.14 %). Of all the SC rickshaw pullers, 90.91 % joined the job involuntarily. Of OBCs, 68.75 joined voluntarily. Of all Muslim rickshaw pullers, 77.8 % joined involuntarily. Cent per cent of pullers from general castes joined involuntarily. Of those who joined voluntarily, most are from OBCs (73.3 %). Excepting OBCs, the entry in the job of rickshaw pulling is mostly involuntarily (in a condition of helplessness) (**Table- 3.35**).

Table –3.35
Joining the job of Rickshaw Pulling: Voluntary and Involuntary

Social Category	Voluntarily		Inability/Helplessness		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
SC	2	9.1	20	90.9	22	100.0
OBC	11	68.8	5	31.2	16	100.0
Muslims	2	22.2	7	77.8	9	100.0
General	-	-	3	100.0	3	100.0
Total	15	30.0	35	70.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.2.1 Reasons for Joining the Job of Rickshaw Pulling

There are a number of reasons why and how the sample rickshaw pullers joined the job of rickshaw pulling. As high as 30.0 % of the rickshaw pullers reported that they had no other option but to join the job of rickshaw pulling. For another 30.0 %, the job had been suggested by the villagers. For 12.0 % of the rickshaw pullers, it is helplessness that forced them to be in the job. For another 12.0 %, friends suggested them to be engaged as rickshaw pullers. For 6.0 % of the rickshaw pullers, it is traditional factor (inheritance; 'father had been pulling, so'). For some other, low income-cum-problems in past (other) occupations that led them to join the job of rickshaw pulling. The other reasons cited include willingness to work in a big city, self-motivation etc. 'No other option for employment' has been cited by rickshaw pullers from all the rickshaw stands, excepting from M. P. The tradition as a factor has been cited by rickshaw pullers from U. P. and M. P. The reason cited are general, and not state specific (Table-3.36).

Table – 3.36
Reasons for the Rickshaw Pullers Joining the job of Rickshaw Pulling

Reasons	M. P.		U. P.		Bihar		Jharkhand		West Bangal		Rajasthan		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tradition	1	14.3	2	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6.0
Suggested by Friends	2	28.5	2	6.7	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	6	12.0
Problems in past occupation	-	-	1	3.3	-	-	-	-	2	33.3	-	-	3	6.0
Suggested by villagers	2	28.5	7	23.3	2	40.0	-	-	4	66.7	-	-	15	30.0
No other option for employment	-	-	9	30.0	2	40.0	1	100.0	2	33.3	1	100.0	15	30.0
Didn't earn daily cash from past occupation	-	-	2	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
Self motivated	2	28.5	2	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	8.0
Helplessness/ Disable	-	-	4	13.3	-	-	1	100.0	1	16.7	-	-	6	12.0
Suggested by relatives	1	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Willingness to work in big city	-	-	2	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
Low income in past occupation	-	-	1	3.3	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
Total	7	100.0	30	100.0	5	100.0	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.3 Ownership of Rickshaws by Rickshaw Pullers

Only 18.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers in the sample own rickshaws. Thus, 82.0 per cent do not own rickshaws. 74.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers hire rickshaws on rental basis. 4.0 per cent have rickshaws with others. 86.4 per cent of the rickshaw pullers from SCs do not have rickshaws, who hire these on rental basis. 86.9 per cent of the Muslim rickshaw pullers do not own rickshaws. No one from general castes own rickshaws, they either hire rickshaws on rental basis or share rickshaws with owners of house where they stay. Of those who own rickshaws, most (55.5 per cent) come from OBCs. The SC rickshaw pullers either own rickshaws (13.6 per cent) or hire rickshaws; they do not share rickshaws with others (Table-3.37).

Table – 3.37
Ownership of Rickshaws among Rickshaw Pullers

Ownership	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Having Own Rickshaw	3	13.6	5	31.2	1	11.1	-	-	9	18.0
Having no Rickshaw	19	86.4	11	68.8	8	86.9	3	100.0	41	82.0
Rented	19	86.4	9	56.3	7	77.8	2	66.7	37	74.0
Shared with others	-	-	1	6.3	1	11.1	-	-	2	4.0
House owners	-	-	1	6.3	-	-	1	33.3	2	4.0
Total	22	100.0	16	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.3.1 Hiring of Rickshaws from Khatal

Only 16.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers own rickshaws which they pull, of which only one rickshaw puller got benefits of GO for free license. 68.0 per cent of rickshaw pullers hire rickshaws from 'Khatals' owned by others. These pullers who 'hire-in' rickshaws are uniformly distributed over regions in the city. Eight (or 16.0 per cent) of the pullers neither own rickshaws nor hire from Khatals, but somehow manage to get rickshaws from others to pull (Table-3.38).

Table – 3.38
Hiring of Rickshaws from Rickshaw Owners (Khatal) (By Area)

Areas	Hiring		Managing		Own Rickshaw		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
South	6	17.6	-	-	4	50.0	10	20.0
West	8	23.5	2	25.0	-	-	10	20.0
North	5	14.8	2	25.0	3	37.5	10	20.0
Central	7	20.6	2	25.0	1	12.5	10	20.0
East	8	23.5	2	25.0	-	-	10	20.0
Total	34	100.0	8	100.0	8	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

There are a number of conditions for hiring rickshaws by rickshaw pullers. As reported by those who hire (84.0 % of rickshaw pullers), 69.0 % need guarantor. As

high as 54.8 % reported that they can hire rickshaws on condition of 'low-cost' repair and maintenance of rickshaws; 42.9 % need to pay rent according to the condition/ quality of rickshaws; the rickshaw pullers need to submit the puller's photograph to owner (11.9 % reporting); 7.1 % reported that staying in the khatal is a condition; 2.3 % reported that the condition to hire rickshaws is to purchase essential items from shops of khatal owners; only 2.3 % reported that there is no condition on hiring rickshaws (Table – 3.39).

Table – 3.39
Conditions for Hiring Rickshaws on Rent

Condition	No.	%
Need guarantor	29	69.0
Pay rent according to Rickshaw	18	42.9
Low cost repairing	23	54.8
Deposit the photograph	5	11.9
Stay at Khatal	3	7.1
Buy the items from khatal shop	1	2.3
Need the Puller License	2	4.8
No condition	1	2.3
Total	42	100.0

Note: 8 Rickshaw Puller have own Rickshaws.

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.4 Availability of Nagar Nigam Licenses

92.0 per cent of the rickshaws have availed/received licenses of rickshaws, while 8.0 per cent have not. The reasons reported for non-availability of licenses of rickshaws are operating/pulling in limited areas, relaxation for three months by Nagar Nigam, and ignorance. We found the cases of non-availability of licenses in north and west zones of the city. 62.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers have received licenses, that is, 38.0 per cent pull rickshaws without licenses. The rickshaw pullers with license and without license are uniformly distributed over all the zones of the city of Allahabad (Table- 3.40).

Table –3.40
Availability of Nagar Nigam Licenses of Rickshaws and Rickshaw Pullers

Areas	Rickshaws				Pullers				Total Respondents	
	Available		Not available		Available		Not available		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
South	10	21.7	-	-	4	12.9	6	31.6	10	20.0
West	8	17.4	2	50.0	6	19.4	4	21.1	10	20.0
North	9	19.6	1	25.0	5	16.1	5	26.3	10	20.0
Central	10	21.7	-	-	8	25.0	2	10.5	10	20.0
East	-	19.6	1	25.0	8	25.0	2	10.5	10	20.0
Total	46	100.0	4*	100.0	31	100.0	19	100.0	50	100.0

Note: * The reasons reported are like operating in limited areas, relaxation for three months by Nagar Nigam, and ignorance.

Source: Field Survey 2005.

The reasons cited by the rickshaw pullers for non-availability of license are 'relaxation by Nagar Nigam', 'pulling rickshaw in limited areas', 'under process', 'missed the opportunity', and need to get license not felt' (Table-3.41).

Table – 3.41
Reasons for Non-availability of Rickshaw Puller's License

Reasons	No.	%
Relaxation by Nagar Nigam	4	21.1
Operating in limited areas	10	52.6
Missed the opportunity	2	10.5
Under Process	1	5.3
No need	2	10.5
Total	19	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.4.1 Penalty Imposed by Nagar Nigam

In case the rickshaw puller or the rickshaw does not have license, the Nagar Nigam of the city of Allahabad can impose penalty on each. The penalty on the rickshaw without license has to be paid by the owner of the rickshaw, while the rickshaw puller pays the penalty when it is imposed on him. As we found, on average, the range of variation in penalty is Rs. 36.0 to Rs. 80.0 on rickshaw puller, while Rs. 188.00 to Rs. 299.00 on the rickshaw. Each of the minimum and maximum penalty varies over the five regions in the city. The reported penalty on the rickshaw puller is high in central and east parts of the city (both in terms of minimum and maximum), relative to other parts. The penalty on rickshaw is reportedly high in south part of the city on the maximum side, while at the minimum side it is low. These figures, however, should not be taken to imply the 'hard' or 'soft' behaviour of local administrative authority (Nagar Nigam) (Table-3.42).

Table – 3.42
Penalty that may be Imposed by Nagar Nigam on Rickshaw Pullers
(Experience-cum-perceptions of Rickshaw Pullers)

Area	(Average in Rupees)			
	On Rickshaw		On Puller	
	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
South	150	433	15	20
West	236	280	17	97
North	250	309	17	110
Central	125	230	65	86
East	177	227	66	84
Total	188	299	36	80

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.5 Period of Pulling Rickshaws by Rickshaw Pullers

30 % of the rickshaw pullers have been pulling rickshaw for a period less than five years in the city of Allahabad; 28.0 % have been pulling for a period ten to

twenty years; 24.0 % have been pulling for a period between five to ten years; 10.0 % of them have been pulling for a period between 30 and 40 years. Pulling rickshaw for a period more than 10 years means the pullers have got themselves confined to rickshaw pulling. This is true for 70.0 % of the rickshaw pullers. Of those who are pulling rickshaws for a period less than 5 years, mostly (66 %) are from the districts of U. P. Thus those who have migrated from the adjoining states have generally got confined themselves to pulling rickshaws in the city of Allahabad. The extreme cases of pulling rickshaws for more than 30 years come from U. P. and Bihar. The distribution of rickshaw pullers over tenure of pulling rickshaw is well for U. P. because of larger sub-sample for U. P. (60.0 % of total sample), relative to other states. We find rickshaw pullers from not only U. P., but also M. P., Rajasthan, and Bihar who have been pulling rickshaw for a period between 20 and 30 years (**Table-3.43**).

Table – 3.43
Period of Pulling Rickshaws by Rickshaw Pullers in Allahabad City

States	Within 5 Years		5 – 10 Years		10 – 20 Years		20 – 30 Years		30 – 40 Years		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Madhya Pradesh	3	20.0	2	16.7	1	7.1	1	20.0	-	-	7	14.0
Uttar Pradesh	10	66.7	7	58.3	9	64.3	2	40.0	2	50.0	30	60.0
Bihar	1	6.7	-	-	1	7.1	1	20.0	2	50.0	5	10.0
Jharkhand	-	-	-	-	1	7.1	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
West Bangal	1	6.7	3	25.0	2	14.2	-	-	-	-	6	12.0
Rajasthan	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20.0	-	-	1	2.0
Total	15	100.0	12	100.0	14	100.0	5	100.0	4	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.6 Place of Rickshaw Pulling

Excepting Rajasthan and Jharkhand, all the other states have represented themselves in rickshaw pulling in other regions outside Allahabad. We are considering here the rickshaw pullers who pull rickshaws in the city of Allahabad (at the time of survey). The pulling of rickshaws by these rickshaw pullers outside the city is negligible, like the fact that only one person pulled rickshaw in Delhi. This is the case of a migrant from West Bengal. Only one pulled rickshaw in Punjab. This is the case of a migrant from Bihar. Only one from migrating population from MP pulled rickshaw in other districts of UP, in addition to pulling (at the time of survey) in Allahabad. Only two of the rickshaw pullers settled in UP and pulling rickshaw in the city of Allahabad had pulled rickshaw in other districts of UP. Thus, for most of the rickshaw pullers who have been pulling rickshaws in the city of Allahabad, it remains a stable zone for pulling rickshaws (**Table- 3.44**).

Table – 3.44
Rickshaw Pullers Pulling Rickshaws in the other Places

States	Place of Pulling						Duration of Pulling (in years)						Total	
	Other Districts of		Delhi		Punjab		Up to 1		1 - 2		2 - 3		Rickshaw Pullers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
MP	1	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	14.3	7	100.0
UP	2	6.7	-	-	-	-	2	6.7	-	-	-	-	30	100.0
Bihar	-	-	-	-	1	20.0	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	5	100.0
W. Bangal	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	6	100.0
Total	3	6.2	1	2.1	1	2.1	3	6.2	1	2.1	1	2.1	48	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.7 Daily Routine Works of Rickshaw Pullers

The rickshaw pullers, on average, pull rickshaws for 8.4 hours per day. They are used to take rest for 3.1 hours on average within the span of pulling rickshaws. The hours of pulling rickshaws, on average, vary from 7.3 hours in the north of the city to 10.3 hours in the south of the city (Table- 3.45).

Table – 3.45
Duration-wise Daily Routine Works of Rickshaw Pullers
(Average Time in Hours)

Activity	South	West	North	Central	East	Total
Sleeping	7.1	7.4	7.6	7.6	7.6	7.5
Daily Work	1.6	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Rickshaw Pulling	10.3	8.1	7.3	8.0	8.4	8.4
Entertainment	2.0	0.6	1.8	1.6	1.0	1.4
Rest during Rickshaw pulling	2.3	3.5	3.4	3.2	3.1	3.1
Other	0.7	3.1	2.4	2.1	2.4	2.1

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.8 Monthly Expenditure of Rickshaw Pullers

The expenditure pattern per month of the rickshaw pullers shows that as high as 24.7 % of their income is spent on rent for hiring rickshaws. The rickshaw pullers can afford to spend 29.0 % of their income on major food (lunch, dinner etc.); They spend 13.9 % of income on intoxicants (Ganja, Bhang, Wine etc.), 12.7 % on Pan/Bidi/tobacco, 5.3 % on entertainment. Thus, the rickshaw pullers spend 26.6 % on intoxicants and related items, which nearly equal their major food. 90.0 % of the rickshaw pullers take major food items outside their native place. Thus, the comparison of expenditure on food and non-food items are meaningful for 90.0 % of the rickshaw pullers. The average income per month of rickshaw pullers from the single job is Rs. 2055/-. As high as 84.0 % of the rickshaw pullers pay rent for hiring rickshaws. Most of the rickshaw pullers (86.0 %) take Pan/Bidi/Tobacco. Only 14.0 % spend money on entertainment. The rickshaw pullers also spend money on residence and daily work. The expenditure pattern of rickshaw pullers mainly shows

'rent' and 'major food' as the main items where their earned money goes (Table-3.46).

Table – 3.46
Monthly Expenditure of Rickshaw Pullers

Services	Expenditure		Persons availed service	
	Amount in Rs.	%	No.	%
Rent of Rickshaw	507	24.7	42	84.0
Entertainment	108	5.3	7	14.0
Residence	197	9.6	18	36.0
Pan/Tobacco/Bidi	260	12.7	43	86.0
Food /Lunch/Dinner*	595	29.0	45	90.0
Ganja/Bhang/Wine	285	13.9	17	34.0
Daily work	103	5.0	16	32.0
Total	2055	100.0	50	100.0

Note: *Rest 5 Rickshaw Pullers take food in their native places.

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.9 Other Economic Activities of Rickshaw Pullers

96.0 % of the rickshaw pullers are engaged in only pulling rickshaws; of those who reported other job opportunities include agricultural work and bidi making. As reported in the field, the bidi maker as a part time job earns R. 10/- per day as support income; the rickshaw puller who gets the opportunity to work as agricultural labour earns Rs. 50/- per day (the prevailing wage rate). The bidi worker (part time) works 30 days a month (after rickshaw pulling) while the agricultural worker expects to work 18 days a month (Table- 3.47).

Table – 3.47
Rickshaw Pullers Engaged in Other Economic Activities

Activities	No.	%
Doing Other Jobs	2	4.0
No Other Jobs	48	96.0
Bidi making(Part time)	1	2.0
Agricultural work(Part time)	1	2.0
Earning Rs. 10.0 Per day	1	2.0
Earning Rs. 50.0 Per day	1	2.0
Work 18 Days a month	1	2.0
Work 30 Days a month	1	2.0
Work Place	At home (village)	
Permanent Residence	Allahabad Adjoining	
Total Respondents	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.10 Income of Rickshaw Pullers from Other Occupations

On average, rickshaw pulling per day yields an income Rs. 83/- to a rickshaw puller. The alternative income per day per person (rickshaw puller) is much lower relative to rickshaw pulling. For example, wage work in general yields on average Rs. 48.5 per day per person, while wage work in hotels provides Rs. 25/-. Working under contractor yields Rs. 30/-, and job of a vendor (in a fixed location) give Rs 55/- per

person per day. Mobile sale of goods yields Rs.45/- per person per day. Thus, rickshaw pulling by income indicator remains a better option for the persons engaged mainly as pullers, but search for alternative low income jobs around in the city to support family income remains (Table – 3.48).

Table – 3.48
Average income from different occupations
(in Rs.)

Occupations	Average income per day
Wage work	48.5
Work under contractor	30.0
Fish/Vegetable/Fruit selling	55.0
Wage work in hotel/house	25.0
Rickshaw pulling	83.0
Mobile sale of goods	45.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.11 Liabilities on Rickshaw Pullers

The major responsibilities of rickshaw pullers are maintaining family, sharing and caring in family, education of children, getting daughters and sisters married. 10.0 % of the rickshaw pullers talk about repaying loans as a major responsibility. For only 6.0 %, there is reportedly no major responsibility. For all the social categories by castes and community, family is the center for performing responsibilities. In other words, almost all the rickshaw pullers think in terms of family's (joint) income, collective duties (like education, marriage etc.) (Table – 3.49).

Table – 3.49
Major Responsibilities of Rickshaw Pullers

Needs	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Maintaining family	20	90.9	13	81.2	5	55.5	2	66.7	40	80.0
Marriage of daughter/sister	9	40.9	3	18.7	3	33.3	1	33.3	16	32.0
To pay loan	1	4.5	1	6.2	2	22.2	1	33.3	5	10.0
Education for children	6	27.3	2	12.5	1	11.1	3	100.0	12	24.0
Overall care of family	7	31.8	4	25.0	2	22.2	1	33.3	14	28.0
To increase family income	-	-	2	12.5	-	-	-	-	2	4.0
No Responsibility	-	-	1	6.2	2	22.2	-	-	3	6.0
Total	22	100.0	16	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.12 Remittances by Rickshaw Pullers

Of all the rickshaw pullers, 40.0 per cent reportedly are used to send money to their home, which excludes the rickshaw pullers from Jharkhand and Rajasthan. Another 40.0 per cent carry money with themselves when they go home. 12.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers live with family, and hence they do not send money either through messengers or carry themselves. Of all the rickshaw pullers state-wise who are used to send money to home, most are from MP. Out of seven such pullers who

have migrated from MP, six pullers send money through messengers and one carry himself. 8.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers from the sample do not send money; these are from UP (75.0 per cent) and West Bengal (25.0 per cent). The only migrating rickshaw puller from Jharkhand carries money himself when he goes to the native place.

Because of small size of sample, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusion on the migration-linked remittances of money by rickshaw pullers pulling rickshaws in the city of Allahabad. However, as we found, for 80.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers, money is sent either directly by themselves or through messengers to their home that confirms rickshaw pulling as a support income (cash) for their families (Table – 3.50).

Table – 3.50
Remittances by Rickshaw Pullers (Money Sent to their home)

States	Sent		Do not Sent		Live with Family		Self Carry		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Madhya Pradesh	6	85.7	-	-	-	-	1	14.3	7	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	11	36.7	3	10.0	4	13.3	12	40.0	30	100.0
Bihar	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	4	80.0	5	100.0
Jharkhand	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	1	100.0
West Bengal	2	33.3	1	16.7	1	16.7	2	33.3	6	100.0
Rajasthan	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	1	100.0
Total	20	40.0	4	8.0	6	12.0	20	40.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

20.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers fall into the categories of either living with the family in the city (work place and living place the same) or do not send money. Thus, 80.0 per cent send money by varying amount. Of those who are used to send money, 42.5 per cent send between Rs. 1000 and Rs. 1500 per month to their home; 30.0 per cent send money between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 per month, and 27.5 per cent send less than Rs. 500 per month. Most of those who migrated from MP (57.1 per cent) send money per month less than Rs. 500 to home. Most of those who migrated from West Bengal and are used to send money to home (75.0 per cent) send between Rs. 1000 and Rs. 1500 per month. Excepting some pullers from UP and MP, all others who send money to native place send above Rs. 500 per month on average. This establishes the proposition that rickshaw pulling provides support income for the families of rickshaw pullers (Table – 3.51).

Table – 3.51
Rickshaw Pullers Remittances to Home (Money Rs. Sent per Month)

State	500		500-1000		1000-1500		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Madhya Pradesh	4	57.1	1	14.3	2	28.5	7	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	7	30.4	8	34.8	8	34.8	23	100.0

Contd...

State	500		500-1000		1000-1500		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bihar	-	-	2	40.0	3	60.0	5	100.0
Jharkhand	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	1	100.0
West Bangal	-	-	1	25.0	3	75.0	4	100.0
Rajasthan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	11	27.5	12	30.0	17	42.5	40	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.13 Movement of Rickshaw Pullers from Working Place to Native Place

Excepting one rickshaw puller who migrated from Rajasthan to the city of Allahabad and started pulling rickshaws, others are in the habit of moving to and fro (work place to living place) by different time gaps. However, for 16.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers, the movement is indefinite. 20.0 per cent of the pullers go home once in a quarter; 18.0 per cent go fortnightly, 14.0 per cent go monthly; 10.0 per cent go yearly. There are rickshaw pullers who come from adjoining areas/villages (near the city of Allahabad) and hence commute daily. This percentage is 16.0. The rickshaw pullers, thus, maintain links with native places by their movements with varying frequency. The only migrant from Jharkhand moves once in a month while of all the migrants from Bihar, it is a movement either quarterly or yearly. There is no state-specificity in movements of rickshaw pullers by specific frequency. The point is that the rickshaw pullers generally maintain links with their roots even after they migrated (Table- 3.52).

Table – 3.52
Frequency of Rickshaw Pullers going to their Native Place/Home/Village

Occupation	M. P.		U. P.		Bihar		Jharkhand		W. Bangal		Rajasthan		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Weekly	-	-	1	3.33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2.0
Fortnightly	1	14.3	8	26.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	18.0
Monthly	4	57.1	2	6.7	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	7	14.0
Three Monthly	1	14.3	2	6.7	3	60.0	-	-	4	66.7	-	-	10	20.0
Half Yearly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	2.0
Yearly	-	-	2	6.7	2	40.0	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	5	10.0
Indefinite	-	1	14.3	7	23.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	16.0
Daily	-	-	8	26.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	16.0
Never	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	1	2.0
Total	7	100.0	30	100.0	5	100.0	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.14 Problems Faced by Rickshaw Pullers during Pulling Rickshaws and Planned Duration of Pulling Rickshaws

The problems that the rickshaw pullers faced in pulling rickshaws are many, some of which are biological, some economic, and some social institutional. The biological problems include retarded physical growth, pressure felt on chest, weakening body, and fatigue. The economic problems include non-receipt of proper

fare, and fare not received in accordance with season. The social institutional problems include being beaten and abused by people, and absence of rickshaw union. As high as 24.0 % of the rickshaw pullers reported to have no problems in pulling rickshaws (**Table – 3.53**).

Table – 3.53
Problems Faced by Rickshaw Pullers during Pulling Rickshaws

Problems	No.	%
Physical growth stopped	2	4.0
Body became weak	10	20.0
Pressure on chest	2	4.0
Fatigue	8	16.0
Frequent illness	1	2.0
Proper fare not received	15	30.0
Being beaten and abused by People	10	20.0
Not getting fare based on seasons	4	8.0
On Rickshaw union	2	4.0
No problems	12	24.0
Total	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

As high as 54.0 % of the rickshaw pullers plan to pull rickshaws until physical power is lost. 12.0 % plan to pull until other better alternatives are found. For others, the planned duration of pulling rickshaws varies below ten years, excepting no response (no plan) for 4.0 % and unknown duration for 8.0 % of the rickshaw pullers. There are state-wise variations in these responses regarding planned duration of pulling rickshaws in future (**Table – 3.54**).

Table – 3.54
Planned Duration of Pulling Rickshaws in Future

Duration	M.P.		U.P.		Bihar		Jharkhand		W. Bangal		Rajasthan		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Up to 5 Years	-	-	7	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	100.0
5 to 10 Years	-	-	3	75.0	-	-	-	-	1	25.0	-	-	4	100.0
Until physical power loss	6	22.2	15	55.5	3	11.1	-	-	2	7.4	1	3.7	27	100.0
Until other option not get	1	16.7	3	50.0	1	16.7	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	6	100.0
Indefinite	-	-	2	50.0	1	25.0	1	25.0	-	-	-	-	4	100.0
No Response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	100.0	-	-	2	100.0
Total	7	14.0	30	60.0	5	10.0	1	2.0	6	12.0	1	2.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.15 Impact of Government sponsored Programmes on Rickshaw Pullers' Households

Of all rickshaw pullers, only 16.0 % reported that their families got benefits from Government sponsored development schemes. The development schemes that benefit these households are Indira Awaas Yojna, Mid-day Meal, and Antyodaya Yojna. The general impact of these schemes are felt good by most of the beneficiary households (**Table- 3.55**).

Table – 3.55
Impact of Government Sponsored Development Programmes on
Rickshaw Pullers' Households

Condition		No.	%
Status of Benefit	Benefited	8	16.0
	Not benefited	42	84.0
	Total	50	100.0
Scheme	Indira Avas Yojna	6	75.0
	Midday meal	3	37.5
	Antyoday Yojna	1	12.5
	Total	8	100.0
Impact	Good	6	75.0
	General	1	12.5
	Bad	1	12.5
	Total	8	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.3.16 Social and Cultural Value of Rickshaw Pullers

On the question of socio-cultural value of rickshaw pullers, we enquired into many aspects and issues. These issues are on male attitude, power relations, family norms, belief and prejudice etc. As high as 82.0 % are against inter-castes marriage. 60.0 % of the rickshaw pullers think that the value of male members of the family is much more than that of female members. 16.0 % believe that difficult problems can be solved by magic system. 32.0 % believe in rebirth (after death). As high as 82.0 % believe that police and public administration are made for rich people. 68.0 % do not believe in large family size as a means of enhanced family power. 54.0 % believe that even if girls become highly educated, they will have to concentrate on domestic work (Table – 3.56).

Table – 3.56
Perceptions of Rickshaw Pullers on some selected social and cultural values

Statements	Too much		Much		Low		Very low		Never		Indefinite /Cannot say		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Our girls can be married in other castes, if bridegroom is good	8	16.0	-	-	-	-	1	2.0	41	82.0	-	-	50	100.0
The value of Male member in the family is more than Female member	20	40.0	10	20.0	8	16.0	2	4.0	10	20.0	-	-	50	100.0
The difficult problems can be solved by magic system	5	10.0	3	6.0	11	22.0	5	10.0	26	52.0	-	-	50	100.0
People rebirth after death	15	30.0	1	2.0	5	10.0	1	2.0	25	50.0	3	6.0	50	100.0
Police and administration made for rich people	36	72.0	5	10.0	4	8.0	3	6.0	2	4.0	-	-	50	100.0
Power of family increases, if size of family is big	8	16.0	2	4.0	5	10.0	1	2.0	34	68.0	-	-	50	100.0
Girls may become highly educated, but they have to do domestic work	19	38.0	8	16.0	7	14.0	7	14.0	9	18.0	-	-	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.4 Awareness Among Rickshaw Pullers

We have assessed the actual awareness level of rickshaw pullers based on some selected indicators. The selected indicators are Government Order (GO) regarding free license, fare fixed by Nagar Nigam, traffic rules in the city and law and order in city.

3.4.1 Awareness About Government Order for free License

Only seven (14.0 per cent) of the rickshaw pullers located in all the regions of the city, excepting south, are aware of the government order (GO) for free license in case the rickshaw puller himself owns the rickshaw. 72.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers are ignorant about the GO, while 14.0 per cent are indifferent who did not respond. All these categories of respondents by the indicator of awareness are uniformly distributed over regions (Table- 3.57).

Table – 3.57
Awareness of Rickshaw Pullers regarding Government Order for free License in case of Rickshaws under Self-Ownership

Area	Aware		Ignorance		Indifference/ Non-response		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
South	-	-	9	25.0	1	14.3	10	20.0
West	1	14.3	8	22.2	1	14.3	10	20.0
North	2	28.5	6	16.7	2	28.5	10	20.0
Central	1	14.3	6	16.7	3	42.9	10	20.0
East	3	42.9	7	19.4	-	-	10	20.0
Total	7	100.0	36	100.0	7	100.0	50	100.0

Note:-Only one (2%) Rickshaw Puller was benefited out of total sample in this scheme.

-There is no provision of light at night in Rickshaw and so all sample responses are in negative.

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.4.2 Awareness regarding Fare fixed by Nagar Nigam

64 % of the rickshaw pullers in the city of Allahabad do not know the fare (price) list prepared for the execution by Allahabad Nagar Nigam. Of those who know fare price list, most are from OBCs (44.4 %), followed by SCs (27.7 %), and Muslims (22.2 %). Only one rickshaw puller from General castes knows fare price list. Those who know fare price list are distributed over all zones in the city (Table- 3.58).

Table – 3.58
Awareness of the Rickshaw Pullers regarding Fare fixed by Nagar Nigam

Areas	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
West	-	-	-	-	2	50.0	-	-	2	11.1
North	2	40.0	3	37.5	2	50.0	-	-	7	38.9
Central	1	20.0	4	50.0	-	-	-	-	5	27.8

Contd...

Areas	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
East	2	40.0	1	12.5	-	-	1	100.0	4	22.2
Total	5	100.0	8	100.0	4	100.0	1	100.0	18	100.0

Note: 32 Rickshaw Pullers do not know fare (price) list, which is fixed by Nagar Nigam
Source: Field Survey 2005.

Those who know fare price list fixed by Allahabd Nagar Nigam are not satisfied with the fare. The reason cited by the rickshaw pullers includes 'fixed fare price less than actual fare (88.9 % reporting)', 'unchanged fare over time', 'fare not fixed according to season', 'fare not fixed separately for day and night'. Only 11.1 % of those who knows 'fare fixed by Allahabad Nagar Nigam' are satisfied with 'fare' (Table- 3.59).

Table – 3.59
Reasons for Non-satisfaction of fare fixed by Nagar Nigam

Reasons	No.	%
Fixed price is lower than actual fare	16	88.9
Fare did not change over time	3	16.7
Fare not fixed according to season	4	22.2
Fare not fixed separately for day and night	2	11.1
Satisfied with fixed fare	2	11.1
Total	18	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.4.3 Awareness regarding Traffic Rules in the City

92.0 % of the rickshaw pullers learned traffic rules themselves. These pullers are distributed over all zones and by social categories. Of these who reportedly know traffic rules, 47.82 % are SCs, 28.26 % from OBCs, 19.56 % from Muslims, and 4.35 % from General castes. The SCs and OBCs who know traffic rules come from all the zones in the city, the reason may be their large number in the sample, relative to other (Muslims and General castes). It is hard to link 'knowledge of traffic rules' and 'administrative zones of the city'. The 'knowledge of traffic rules' is also a reflection of self-appraisal of rickshaw pullers, which is never tested by any competent (traffic) authority (Table- 3.60).

Table – 3.60
Awareness of the Rickshaw Pullers regarding Traffic Rules in the City

Areas	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
South	2	9.1	5	38.4	-	-	1	50.0	8	17.4
West	3	13.6	1	7.7	6	66.7	-	-	10	21.7
North	4	18.2	4	30.7	2	22.2	-	-	10	21.7
Central	5	27.3	2	15.4	1	11.1	-	-	8	17.4
East	8	36.4	1	7.7	-	-	1	50.0	10	21.4
Total	22	100.0	13	100.0	9	100.0	2	100.0	46	100.0

Note: All 46 Rickshaw Pullers learned traffic rules themselves.
Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.4.4 Awareness Regarding Law and Order in the City

Most of the rickshaw pullers believe that the law and order situation in the city is general (48.0 % perceiving so). 22.0 % perceive that it is very poor. 'Poor and very poor' law and order condition is not reported by general caste rickshaw pullers. Of those who reported poor law and order are from SCs and Muslims. Most of those who reported very poor law and order condition are from SCs and Muslims. However, of all SC rickshaw pullers who responded on 'law and order condition', most perceive it as general (40.1 % of all SCs). Of all OBCs, 68.8 % perceive the law and order condition as general. It is, however, difficult to show any link between particular social categories and perception of law and order situation (Table- 3.61).

Table – 3.61
Law and Order in the City (Perceptions of Rickshaw Pullers)

Particulars	SC		OBC		Muslims		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very Good	1	4.5	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	2	4.0
Good	4	18.2	2	12.5	3	33.3	1	33.3	10	20.0
General	9	40.1	11	68.8	2	22.2	2	66.7	24	48.0
Poor	2	9.1	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	3	6.0
Very Poor	6	27.3	3	18.7	2	22.2	-	-	11	22.0
Total	22	100.0	16	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

Those who reported poor and very poor law and order in the city mentioned increasing crime in the city. They mentioned that public administration is indifferent to poor people. They reported that public administration and police work only on the basis of bribe. Reportedly, there is no control over police. The administration does not reportedly arrest actual criminals etc. (Box – 3.1).

Box: 3.1
Reasons for Poor Law and Order in the City

- Public administration is indifferent to poor people
- Increasing crime in the City
- Administration does not arrest actual criminals
- Administration and Police work only on the basis of bribe
- No control on Police/ Autocracy of Police

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.5 Expectations and Suggestions

The rickshaw pullers suggested a number of measures that may improve the position and living/working condition of rickshaw pullers. 36.0 % suggested that Allahabad Nagar Nigam should establish/identify proper rickshaw stand. 32.0 %

suggested that license of rickshaw pullers should be free. It perhaps means that rickshaw pullers should be freed from any licensing requirements. The other suggestions include 'provision of shelter' for rickshaw pullers in the city, allotment of land on lease for rickshaw pullers, varying fares to be fixed based on season, display of fare list at each 'Chauraha' in the city, provision of rickshaws on rent, imposition of restrictions on entry of big size three wheelers in the zone where manual rickshaws ply etc. All these suggestions are thought to be executed by Allahabad Nagar Nigam (Table- 3.62).

Table – 3.62
Support Need from Allahabad Nagar Nigam: Suggestions from Rickshaw Pullers

Suggestions	No.	%
Provide Rickshaw on Rent	7	14.0
Proper rickshaw stand should be established	18	36.0
License of pullers should be free	16	32.0
Allot land on lease	2	4.0
To make shelter for rest in the city for pullers	8	16.0
Rickshaw should be given on subsidised rate	8	16.0
Impose restrictions for entry of big size three wheelers	3	6.0
Fare for rickshaw should be fixed on the basis of seasons	8	16.0
Fare list should be fixed at each chauraha in the city	8	16.0
No Response	8	16.0
Total	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

The rickshaw pullers in the city of Allahabad expect that the police do not harass or beat them. The pullers also hope that police should not exploit them in a number of ways. The police are expected to provide security to the rickshaw pullers, in addition to opposing injustice. The police is also expected not to doubt the pullers as criminals (Table- 3.63).

Table – 3.63
Expectations of Rickshaw Pullers from Police

Suggestions	No.	%
Provide security	11	22.0
Insuring Justice	9	18.0
Eradicate exploitation of Rickshaw pullers	18	36.0
Stop beating Rickshaw pullers	21	42.0
Stop doubting pullers as criminals	3	6.0
No need	6	12.0
No Response	3	6.0
Total	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005.

3.6 An Overview of Khatala (Rickshaw Owners)

All the Khatal owners that we interviewed reported that running Khatala is their main occupation. All of them have supplementary occupations also like rickshaw

pulling, dairy business, running small shops etc. Generally the Khatal owners locate their Khatal on road side, adjacent to railway station, and in open (unclaimed) space. The types of land used as Khatal are those owned by Nagar Nigam, PWD, adjoining railway station, in addition to own land. The Khatal owners are in khatal business on average between 10 and 20 years. These owners run (lease-out) 367 rickshaws on any working day, of which 86.9 % are registered. Of the eight khatal owners, three have rickshaws numbering between 25 and 30; only one owner has above 60 rickshaws. 50 % of the khatal owners in the same have rickshaws between 30 and 60. Of all the rickshaws owned by these eight khatal owners, 68.1 % are leased-out on rent per day, while 31.9 % keep on standing in khatal. The khatal owners reported leasing-out one rickshaw only one time on any working day. Based on this, their reported income (rent) earned per month comes to be Rs. 17375/- (Table- 3.64).

Table – 3.64
Khatals : An Overview

Subject	Particulars	SC		OBC		General		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Main Occupations	Khatal	1	12.5	6	75.0	1	12.5	8	100.0
Supplementary Occupations	Rickshaw Pulling	1	100.0	1	16.7	1	100.0	3	37.5
	Dairy	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
	Small Shop	-	-	4	66.6	-	-	4	50.0
	Total	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	8	100.0
Place of Khatal	On Road side	1	100.0	3	50.0	1	100.0	5	62.5
	Adjoining Railway Station	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
	Open Place	-	-	2	33.3	-	-	2	25.0
	Total	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	8	100.0
Types of Land used as Khatal	Nagar Nigam	1	100.0	3	50.0	1	100.0	5	62.5
	PWD	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
	Own Land	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
	Railway Adjoining	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
	Total	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	8	100.0
Duration of Khatal business	10 to 12 Years	-	-	1	16.7	1	100.0	2	25.0
	15 Years	1	100.0	2	33.3	-	-	3	37.5
	15 to 20 Years	-	-	3	50.0	-	-	3	37.5
	Total	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	8	100.0
No. of Rickshaws	Registered	26	100.0	248	83.8	45	100.0	319	86.9
	Non-registered	-	-	48	16.2	-	-	48	13.1
	Total	26	100.0	296	100.0	45	100.0	367	100.0
Size of Khatal by No. of Rickshaws	25 to 30	1	100.0	2	33.3	-	-	3	37.5
	30 to 50	-	-	1	16.7	1	100.0	2	25.0
	50 to 60	-	-	2	33.3	-	-	2	25.0
	87	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
	Total	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	8	100.0
No. of Rickshaws	On rent (per day)	20	76.9	200	67.5	30	66.7	250	68.1
	Standing on Khatal	6	23.1	96	32.5	15	33.3	117	31.9
	Total	26	100.0	296	100.0	45	110.0	367	100.0
Per month average rent earned (in Rs.)		12000.0		18200.0		18000.0		17375.0	

Source: Field Survey 2005

The reported past occupations of khatal owners include cultivation, running shops (business), working as wage labour, serving in hotels. For some, past occupation remained keeping khatal, and for some it remained pulling rickshaws. Of

the total eight khatal owners that we interviewed, as high as five mentioned rickshaw pulling as the past occupation. It means, a sizeable section got converted from being mainly rickshaw puller to mainly khatal owner. The reasons mentioned for leaving the past jobs include division of family, high labour and low income, exploitation in past jobs etc. (Table- 3.65).

Table– 3.65
Past Occupations of Khatal Owners

Past Occupations	SC		OBC		General		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cultivation*	-	-	1	16.7	1	100.0	2	25.0
Vegetable shop**	-	-	2	33.3	-	-	2	25.0
Small shop**	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
Wage**	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
Hotel servant***	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	1	12.5
Khatal	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
Rickshaw Pulling	1	100.0	3	50.0	1	100.0	5	62.5
Total	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	8	100.0

Note: Reasons for silt from the past occupation were reported to be the following:

*Division of Family, **Heavy labour and low income, ***Exploitation by hotel owner

Source: Field Survey 2005

So far as the link between Khatal owners and public administration of Allahabad is concerned, the reaction of khatal owners is a mixed one. When they approached the Nagar Nigam for proper management of khatal, some got positive response, while the others got negative response. Similar is with Police. The khatal owners reportedly pay regular (per month to Police and per year to Nagar Nigam) money (bribe) as a routine (perhaps for owning and practicing khatal business in city). The money that Police receive from khatal owners, reportedly varies between Rs. 200/- and Rs. 400/- per month (Table- 3.66).

Table– 3.66
Link between Khatal owners and Public Administration

Type of Link	Public administration	Response	SC		OBC		General		Total	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Approach for Management of Khatal	Nagar Nigam	Positive	1	100.0	3	50.0	-	-	4	50.0
		Negative	-	-	3	50.0	1	100.0	4	50.0
	Police	Positive	-	-	5	83.3	-	-	5	62.5
		Negative	1	100.0	1	16.7	1	100.0	3	37.5
	Total		1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	8	100.0
Payment to Public Administration	Nagar Nigam	Rs. 500/- per annum	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
		Total	1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	8	100.0
	Police	Rs. 200/- per month	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
		Rs. 300/- per month	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	1	12.5
		Rs. 400/- per month	-	-	2	33.3	-	-	2	25.0
	Total		1	100.0	6	100.0	1	100.0	8	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2005

CHAPTER FOUR

FIELD DAIRY (QUALITATIVE DATA)

The city of Allahabad is a home for population more than 10 lakhs. The municipal administrative body of the city is Allahabad Nagar Nigam (ANN) that has four boundaries by administrative - geographic division; on the east side, it is Jhunsi; in west it is the border of district Kausambi ; in north, Phaphamau and Malaka, and in south - Naini and Mahewa . Millions of people come to Allahabad to take bath in holy 'Sangam' (confluence of three rivers, namely, Ganga, Yamuna, and Saraswati) every year. Thus, the size of moving population in the city increases for a few months every year. The local means of transport in the city of Allahabad are buses, rickshaws, auto rickshaws, and 'tangas' (horse-driven vehicles). Among these means of transport, rickshaw is the only one which is only based on direct manual labour. Because of acute physical labour in rickshaw pulling, the rickshaw pullers face a number of physical threats after a point of time.

We attempted to find out in this study the living and working conditions of rickshaw pullers in the city. Based on the field visits, we offer the following observations:

4.1 Information About the Informal Labour Market

For the people at the bottom of the economic ladder settled in the adjoining villages, the information about part-time job in the city of Allahabad is not a difficult thing. Day to day movement of neighbours and relatives reveal the scope of odd jobs which require little skill in the city. During off-agricultural season some of these people move out and come to Allahabad to pull rickshaws to supplement family income. For the marginalized people settled in far off regions the initial migration of caste/community is the link for others to migrate. In case of individuals who we met, it is mainly moving out without family. Rickshaw pulling is a job only for the male individuals. Hence, unless there remains scope for women and children to supplement family income, there remains no or little desire to move out with family. It is also because most of the rickshaw pullers come to the city to go back to the root (village) by saving cash income and taking the saving to home which is not the area (Allahabad) where they work.

4.2 Difference Between Rickshaw Pullers in the Outskirts and in the Central Location by Settlement and Migration

The rickshaws that ply at the outskirts of the city are small in number because of the fact that at the outskirts the commuters like to travel long distance in short time by speedy vehicles like Buses, Autorickshaws etc. The so-called Khatahs are also very thin in these outskirts. The rickshaw pullers in these locations are mainly seasonal coming from the adjoining villages where they are settled.

Contrary to this, the rickshaw pullers at the central location of the city are experts in running the rickshaws in the busy locations and busy time. Many of these rickshaw pullers also migrated from remote areas. While in the former case, drawing rickshaws remains a seasonal job to earn supplementary income, for the rickshaw pullers located centrally the job is the main source of income. These centrally located rickshaw pullers, thus, try to become more competent and survive in adverse conditions much more than the rickshaw pullers who get the chance to go to the adjoining villages during the agricultural season. The centrally located rickshaw pullers, thus, are real proletariats having nothing to loose but the pedals that they move under scorching heat and heavy shower and extreme cool.

4.3 Number of Rickshaws and Rickshaw Pullers in the City of Allahabad

In the city of Allahabad the number of rickshaw pullers is three times the number of authorized rickshaws. It means that one rickshaw is pulled by more than one person. It also shows the higher bargaining power of the owners of rickshaw pullers. Generally the rickshaw pullers do not own rickshaws. The large number of rickshaws in the city is because of the following facts:

- ❑ the city is a major link with most of the railway lines in India,
- ❑ the city is known as a holy city where people from all over the country move in,
- ❑ there being areas inside the city where there are no other options but to either walk on foot or move by rickshaws.

According to documents of Allahabad Nagar Nigam, 14099 Rickshaws were registered in the year 2004-05 and Nagar Nigam issued licenses to them. During 2004-05, 31812 people got licences for rickshaw pulling. It means, more than two persons depend on one rickshaw. However, the actual situation is different. The documents of Nagar Nigam (2002-2003) show that 15240 rickshaws were registered

and in the same year (2002-2003) 37329 persons got licenses for pulling rickshaws. The more than proportionate increase in functioning rickshaw pullers in the city in 2002-03 shows that registration is not a (legally) binding condition (at the level of execution) in the city of Allahabad.

Many rickshaws in Allahabad city are not registered . During field work we observed that many big 'khatal' owners (owners of rickshaws) registered only few rickshaws and used to run them on rent on normal days. During some months in a year, namely, May, and June (Marriage season), December, and January ('maghmela'), the demand for rickshaws rises. During these months, the 'khatal' owners lease-out non - registered rickshaws to the pullers on rent.

Some khatal owners operate only in outer parts of the city to lease – out and hence to earn from their non - registered rickshaws. We observed that some 'khatal' owners run two or three rickshaws on one license number. We found on these rickshaws no number plate of Nagar Nigam fixed; we found hand-written number on the back side of these non-registered rickshaws. Based on the responses from khatal owners and rickshaw pullers, we found that approximately 25.0 per cent to 30.0 per cent rickshaws in Allahabad city are not registered by Nagar Nigam. Based on this, we can infer that there are over 20,000 rickshaws in the city.

In the field, we found that many rickshaw pullers have no license for pulling rickshaws. The rickshaw pullers reported that the Nagar Nigam allowed them three months time (March 2005 onward) for renewal of license. However, we did not find old license of these rickshaw pullers. The system works like the following:

- a) Many rickshaw pullers do not take license. In case they are arrested by the Officials they pay Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 as release money (bribe) and get released.
- b) There are many pullers who do not pull rickshaws for the whole year. In the lean agricultural period, these people migrate to the city to pull rickshaws for a few months in a year. These part-time rickshaw pullers don't care; often they do not know that they need to get a license for pulling rickshaws.
- c) The rickshaw pullers who ply outside the city do not have fear to be harassed by local administration.
- d) Some rickshaw pullers come only during 'Maghmela' (January) and hence do not bother about getting licence.
- e) There are some people primarily identified as labourers who pull rickshaws only when they do not get jobs for some unspecified days.

Based on fieldwork, we anticipate that nearly 40.0 per cent people pull rickshaws without license during some months. Based on this percentage, the actual number of rickshaw pullers in the city is more than 45,000. During (peak) agriculture season, this number may be decreased by 50.0 per cent. About 20.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers move on a daily basis to and from their native places. During field study we found that only 8.0 to 10.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers own rickshaws. They themselves or their family members pull those rickshaws. Thus, we can infer that a maximum of 36000 rickshaw pullers on average are engaged in the job of rickshaw pulling. This number may vary from month to month.

4.4 Types of Rickshaw Pullers

We found many types of rickshaw pullers during the field study, on the bases of ownership and of residence conditions. In **terms of ownership** we found the following types of rickshaw pullers in the city:

- a) Those pullers who own rickshaws (their percentage is only 8.0 to 10.0).
- b) Those pullers who pull rickshaws along with their family members (only 3 to 4%).
- c) Those who take rickshaws from khatal owners on rent for 24 hours and pay the rent once in a week (10%).
- d) Those who take rickshaws from khatal owners on rent on hour basis (60%).
- e) Some pullers who take rickshaws on loan or on installment basis and gradually repay the loan.

Based on their **residence**, we can classify rickshaw pullers in the following categories:

- a) Some rickshaw pullers live in khatal and pull khatal owners' rickshaws. These pullers normally live alone in city or with a male member of his family.
- b) Many rickshaw pullers take rickshaws on rent from khatal owners and live with their family or with some members of family at main places of the city privately.
- c) Some rickshaw pullers build their hut on land possessed by any rich person and give him Rs.100 to Rs.200 per month as rent. In those huts they reside with their family. Some reside with their village neighbours or relatives. Most of these types of pullers pull rickshaws of khatal owners on rent and some own rickshaws themselves. Those pullers who reside alone in the city take food with each other from one community kitchen ('samudaik rasoi')
- d) In the city there are some rickshaw pullers who have no permanent residence. These rickshaw pullers take rickshaws from khatal owners on the

basis of rent per day. They take food from one community kitchen and take shelter wherever possible to take rest and to sleep.

- e) We found some rickshaw pullers who own houses and live with their family members. They had settled in the city long back. Most of them own their rickshaws. We saw in these families, family members are used to pull one rickshaw jointly.
- f) We found that many persons, who are involved in this job, reside in adjoining villages and small towns and own houses in their roots. In absence of any paid job in the village, they migrate to the city of Allahabad and pull rickshaws for the whole day and return to the village at night.

We observed that the **time duration** of rickshaw pulling is different from one puller to another. We can classify these types of pullers in the following categories:

- a) Rickshaw pullers who pull rickshaws for the whole year and hence, this job is the only source for their livelihood.
- b) Many rickshaw pullers do not depend only on one job, namely, rickshaw pulling, for their livelihood. These types of persons work in agriculture as cultivator, agricultural labour, and as non-agricultural labour in the village. Their temporary freedom in terms of time from these works allows them to migrate to the city for any odd jobs like rickshaw pulling. It means they pull rickshaws for a few months in a year.
- c) A large number of rickshaw pullers have not chosen their past jobs. They are the people who used to work in different areas like private jobs, labour-work, and different other jobs in the city, and tried to have support income. These people accept rickshaw pulling as one support job. They continue this job throughout their active (working) life or leave it after a few months. A large number of rickshaw pullers change their job, we were informed in the field, due to humiliation and drudgery in rickshaw pulling.
- d) We came to know through survey that many rickshaw pullers from nearby districts enter into the city because of increase in demand for rickshaw services during Aardh Kumbh, Mahakumbh, Maghmela and summer season. During these periods, the rickshaw pullers earn reasonable income. These seasonal rickshaw pullers stay in the city for a particular period and return back to their native place with cash income/saving. Some of them pull own rickshaws and some hire rickshaws who don't own rickshaws.

4.5 Sources of Supply of Rickshaw Pullers

Based on the study, the sources of supply of rickshaw pullers fall into two categories: (I) area , (II) occupation.

4.5.1 Supply by Area

Based on our conversations with rickshaw owners and khatal owners, we found that people in the job of rickshaw pulling in the city migrate from the districts within the state of Uttar Pradesh as well as from West Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. A good number of the people, who came from outside Uttar Pradesh, are mostly from North-West Bihar and from Southern Bengal. People from different districts of Western Jharkhand, South-East Rajasthan, and northern Madhya Pradesh are pulling rickshaws in Allahabad city. People from eastern Uttar Pradesh are also involved in this job. During field visits, we interviewed people from West Bengal. It is alleged that some of them had their roots in Bangladesh, and afterwards came to Malda district of West Bengal. Because of occupational problems, they ultimately resettled in Allahabad. The question arises why these people came here and opted for rickshaw pulling in Allahabad. We observed the following reasons:

- a) Normally people who join this job, want to hide their identity. Hence, they do this work far from their native place. We found some rickshaw pullers who hid their original names and adopted new names because of social stigma.
- b) The city of Allahabad is linked with the rest of India by pilgrimage, like 'Maghmela' , Kumbh , and Ardh kumbh. People from different areas come to the city for holy dip in the Sangam (confluence of Ganga , Yamuna , and Saraswati), know the city , and decide to come in future to stay and earn their livelihood .
- c) The metro cities are generally costly (in terms of cost of living index) and more unknown (unmanageable). The people who shift by compulsion to earn income and save to remit at home can not afford to do it for a long time in the metro cities. Hence, they prefer a relatively small city like Allahabad where they feel easy, know the city better, and hence pull rickshaws to earn income.
- d) People move when culture is similar by language, food habit etc. Most of the people who move into the city from the districts in UP and boundary states know Hindi as a 'market language'. The culture of the city is generally accommodative and peaceful, so that migrating population internalize it easily.

- e) People moving in from different areas have been residing in this city since last 15 to 20 years. They go back for a few days to their native places. When they come back, they bring with them their friends and relatives who are believed to be living in miserable conditions.
- f) Geographical structure of the city helps stable living for the rickshaw pullers. The Gangetic belt provides common space for 'misery-free' living of the otherwise vulnerable sections of the society.
- g) The city of Allahabad is connected by bus and rail routes with the areas where the population migrate from. This also helps frequent migration.

4.5.2 Supply by Occupation

The labourers joining the job of rickshaw pulling are from unorganized sector. We found in the study that generally the landless agricultural labourers, marginal farmers, labourers from construction sector, labourers working in tea stalls, hotels, labourers working in private factories, unemployed, and seasonally employed people enter into the city to ultimately join the job of rickshaw pulling. During the field visit, we found that the rickshaw pullers are not satisfied in their job, the main reasons being drudgery, social oppression, inhuman working conditions, hostile external (police and administration) environment and low-earning-cum-low living standard. The question arises why they choose this occupation. The reasons may be the following:

- a) Lesser income in other occupations or in their past occupations or salary cut by the employer for any mistake committed in the past job. We were informed that the owner ran away without paying wages to the labourers after the job was done.
- b) Due to availability of seasonal employment in agriculture, the agricultural labourers migrate to cities during off-agricultural seasons.
- c) In the urban job of rickshaw pulling, the possibility of earning income remains throughout the year and the income depends mainly upon 'own labour' without any capital cost involved.
- d) The opportunity cost for many labourers at local level is virtually zero. In other words, they have no alternative employment, so that they migrate to the city like Allahabad. Having no other skill, they join the job of rickshaw pulling.
- e) The migrants need not invest capital when they are absorbed as manual workers, viz, in rickshaw pulling.
- f) The rickshaw puller is tied only to the owner-cum-rickshaw that he is supposed to pull. Thus, social division of labour here boils down to simplest

and bottommost male manual labour-based division of labour with no dependence on coordination in work. The puller controls and maintains the rickshaw that he pulls, and is in no way responsible for what other pullers do. This simplest form draws a number of job-seekers from rural (agricultural) to urban (non-industrial) jobs like rickshaw pulling.

- g) Because of survival needs of big families in the rural regions, which returns on land can not support, many people migrate to cities and ensure support income by joining the job of rickshaw pulling.
- h) Urban culture attracts many people who come to the city to join any form of urban employment to stay in the urban region.
- i) Traditional practices or some past practices of the elder members of the job of rickshaw pulling works as a pull factor in migration of other male members to join the job of rickshaw pulling.
- j) The job being based on virtually no skill, the labourer learns this work by doing easily within one or two days.

4.6 Rickshaw Pullers: Their Entry into the City of Allahabad

We observed that the rickshaw pullers came to get settled in the city through a number of means. They got attached to this occupation over time. The following are the means:

- a) For some, the information from the relatives who had been working in the past or are still working at present is the basis to be drawn into the city through them.
- b) Local labourers from nearby areas who have been pulling rickshaws in the city, bring with them their 'close' persons (neighbours, relatives) with them .
- c) Such people are drawn into the city by the contractor to work as manual workers in the construction sector. Frictional unemployment leads to search for alternative jobs in the same city that leads to often joining the job of rickshaw pulling.
- d) People come for pilgrimage during 'Kumbha' or 'Magh Mela' for a holy dip in the 'Sangam' and stay back if they get the economic opportunity to earn support income, like from rickshaw pulling.
- e) Allahabad is directly connected by rail and bus services with Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand, M.P. and Rajasthan. Hence, after moving out from the native place often the people select this city for employment after they get down here in search of 'open' labour market.

- f) The city of Allahabad was the capital of United Province during pre-Independence period and continued to have a large public administration, railway establishment, High Court and lower Courts, educational institutions, audit and accounts office etc. The high officials used to bring with them domestic helpers from their initial locations/residences. The successors of the 'root detached' people either continued to remain as domestic helpers, or mostly shifted to other manual jobs in the city like rickshaw pulling, in absence of any 'capability' to search for jobs in service sector or organized sector in general.
- g) There are some rickshaw pullers who used to pull rickshaws in the past in small cities but could not get reasonable income. Hence, they migrated to this city for better income opportunity. Expected income-differential works here as a motivating force behind migration.

4.7 Main Halting Places of Rickshaw Pullers

In order to have some kind of residence to stay and take rest, the rickshaw pullers made their halting places in some specific locations of the city. In construction of these halting places 'khatal' owners have conspicuous contributions. Khatal owners build halting places according to the daily necessity of rickshaw pullers. The main halting places and reasons for their construction are shown in (Box: 4.1).

Box – 4.1
Halting Places of Rickshaw Pullers

Areas by Name	Types of Available Land	Reasons
Kareli, Wasihabad, Hadadi ka godam alluvial place of Yamuna	Khatal owners' land and land on rent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Easy availability of land. • Alluvial place of river Yamuna helps in daily works. • Plenty of people of same religion and caste. • Good market.
Rajapur, Prayag	Khatal owners land, land of Railways, waste land on rent.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alluvial place of river Ganga helps in daily works. • Railway station helps in daily routine. • Availability of passengers.
Swarajnagar, Mehndauri colony, Teliarganj	Khatal owners' land, house on rent, waste land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alluvial place of river Ganga helps in doing work. • Cheap house available on rent.
Allahabad Junction to Gaughat near Raily track, kydganj and Rambagh	Land of Railway, khatal owners' halting place.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Railway track helps in daily activity. • Free/Common land • Railway station helps in halting • Good availability of passengers • Alluvial place of river Yamuna is also helpful.

Contd...

Areas by Name	Types of Available Land	Reasons
Alopibagh, Daraganj, Sohabatiyabagh	Industrial free land, rental house, industrial colony, khatal owners place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cheap or rent less house. • Low expense on residence . • Close to rural areas. • Unemployment in industrial labourers.
Naini area, A.D.D. colony, Manas Nagar, Chak bhatai	Industrial free land, Rental house, Industrial colony, khatal owners place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cheap or rent less house. • Low expense on residence. • Close to rural areas. • Unemployment in industrial labourers.
Area nearby civil lines	Governmental land, khatal owners land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rent less land. • Good market. • Public vantage helps in living.

Source: Field Observations.

4.8 Culture of Khatal

Khatal means a collection of rickshaws chained or arranged together to be rented out to the rickshaw pullers on a daily basis. Persons who generally do not stay in the area adjoining the khatal own these. Generally a 'chowkidar' is employed to have watch on each such Khatal. A Khatal shows varying number of rickshaws depending on the matching of number of rickshaws and the number of rickshaw pullers. There is deficit of pullers during agricultural season who go back to the adjoining areas (villages) for cutting crops etc (generally early April). Thus, during some time in a year there will be seen surplus rickshaws in Khatal, particularly the khatal that are at the outskirts of the city meant for the migrants from the adjoining villages to run rickshaws on a seasonal basis. Most of the Khatal are located in the central part of the city of Allahabad. This is Kareli area. Most of the people migrated from remote places are settled in this area in temporary katcha sheds. Some are with families on rental basis, the rent being Rs. 100 per month without the facility of electricity. The accommodations that are family-run based on rent of Rs. 100 often try to avoid running the sheds as community kitchens.

Most of the rickshaw pullers of the city take rickshaws on rent from Khatal and pull them and some of them live in these khatal. During survey of different areas, we found that there are about 1000 khatal in the city. Based on our observations in terms of the number of rickshaws, we can divide these khatal in four categories:

- Big khatal** - In this type of khatal around 150 to 250 rickshaws stand together. The owners lease out the rickshaws according to seasonal demand, and get in exchange rent from the rickshaw pullers.
- Medium khatal** - In this type of khatal, there stand around 50 to 150 rickshaws.

- c) **Small khatal** - In this type of khatal, there stand around 20 to 50 rickshaws.
- d) **Very small khatal** - In this type of khatal, there stand less than 20 rickshaws.

During study we found that mostly type 3 and type 4 khatal are visible in the city. Management and working of khatal can be understood by following characteristics:

4.8.1 Who are khatal owners?

During study of different areas of the city, we found many types of khatal owners. We can classify them into the following:

- a) Poor and lower middle-income families who have been doing small business like 'Thela' (vehicle moved by manual labour) hawking, 'Footpath' (pavement) shop, shops for repairing cycles etc. They are in this profession to earn additional/support income. We found some families who are totally dependent on keeping these Khatal. These owners come under fourth type khatal owners (very small khatal).
- b) Middle-income family who have no proper sources of income, or the young members of the family who have remained unemployed. These types of families are doing small works and also get involved in khatal business. This type of owners have type 3 and type 4 khatal.
- c) High middle-income family in which the members of family are earning stable income in government or non - government sector, and for extra income they are involved in this business. These people do not have problems related to money and residence. They are owners of type 1 and type 2 khatal.
- d) There are many rickshaw pullers who came 15-20 years back in the city and by their hard work they are now owners of many rickshaws and opened their own khatal . These type of people normally own type 4 khatal.

4.8.2 Norms of Hiring Rickshaws on Rent

On being asked, the rickshaw pullers of the city of Allahabad told us the following norms for taking rickshaws on rent from khatal:

- a) Rickshaw pullers need to submit credible security. This security is not in the form of goods or money. A person has to be the guarantor of the rickshaw puller, a person who knows the khatal owner from where the concerned rickshaw puller is to hire a rickshaw.
- b) The rent of rickshaw should be paid on particular time (hour, day or week) to the khatal owner. For this there is an oral agreement between rickshaw puller and khatal owner.

- c) Rickshaw pullers who take rickshaws on rent will have to bear maintenance cost for small repair of the rickshaws.
- d) In some khatal, as we observed, photograph and address of native place of rickshaw pullers need to be deposited.
- e) Generally khatal owners give rickshaws on the condition that the pullers have to live in khatal. In this case the owners retain the necessary things of the pullers in the khatal. The rent of khatal is included in rent of rickshaws, which can not be separated by the pullers.
- f) Some khatal owners give rickshaws to only those pullers who have legal license of Nagar Nigam.
- g) At some places we saw that the khatal owners give rickshaws only to those people who agree to live in khatal and purchase necessary goods from shops owned by the khatal owner. In this case khatal owners sell goods at higher prices and siphon off earnings of the rickshaw pullers. We found that in the open market flour was being sold at Rs 8 per kg. while in khatal it was Rs. 10 to Rs. 11 per kg during April 2005.
- h) It is khatal owners' responsibility to take license of rickshaws. If any rickshaw runs without license and the puller is arrested by Nagar Nigam, the concerned khatal owner will be responsible for the fault.

4.8.3 Facility of Residence at Khatal

We found that there is no proper facility of residence for Rickshaw pullers in many khatal. Normally khatal owners provide a single room to a maximum of eight rickshaw pullers, where they put their luggage and cook food. The room is covered at the top by an asbestos sheet or a tin sheet. The boundary walls are nothing but polethene sheets. The room also looks like a hut. The residence is not fit for stay during monsoon and winter. During these seasons the rickshaw pullers normally stay on the railway platforms or where they get a shade to sleep. During summer season the rickshaw pullers sleep under open sky or in the shade provided by the khatal owners. For act of purifying they go outside (Railway line, Alluvial of Ganga and Yamuna). Generally they depend on public hand pumps for bath and water. The whole environment surrounding the residences of rickshaw pullers is unhealthy. Here dirt, mosquito and open drains affect the health of the rickshaw pullers. The rickshaw pullers seem to be totally unaware of it.

We found some better khatal where the facility of residence is good. In these khatal the rent of rickshaw is more by Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 per day than other khatal. There occurs circulation of rickshaw pullers between the ordinary and better

Khatal for stay depending on the vacancy and power to pay. The khatal owners also can run the katal as living places on rent throughout the year. There are very few khatal of this type. We found some khatal who do not provide residence; they only give rickshaws on rent. These types of pullers live in sty or they take room on rent in the city. Some rickshaw pullers take one room together on rent. There are some pullers who live with their family in dirty colony or sty or live in rented room. The pullers, who live in sty or in rented room, generally pull rickshaws for the whole year. They go only for a few days to their village.

4.8.4 Progeny and Characteristics of khatal

- a) We observed that the Muslim rickshaw pullers generally prefer to link them with khatal owned by a Muslim. This means that these pullers like to hire rickshaws from the Muslim owners.
- b) In most of the cases the rickshaw pullers that get settled in a particular location for stay are drawn from the same area. The person who migrated initially or was drawn into the job under historical/accidental circumstances work as a catalyst to pull persons from the same area. In most khatal rickshaw pullers join together to their common root (district and state).
- c) The khatal owners give priority to those rickshaw pullers who pull rickshaws throughout the year and each khatal owner tries to ensure loyalty of rickshaw pullers by tying them with his khatal in a number of ways.
- d) Khatal owners look for loyal, healthy and steady persons as rickshaw pullers. The owners offer them better facility and security.
- e) As and when the khatal owners get loyal-cum-stable rickshaw pullers from a particular area, they make efforts to get more rickshaw pullers from the same area. Success may breed success if there is no crowding out.
- f) In most khatal we saw that in the evening rickshaw pullers take intoxicants (Ganja and liquar). Some khatal owners also take intoxicants along with them. The cost of intoxicant is distributed on every rickshaw puller who takes intoxicants. Normally rickshaw pullers want to satisfy his owner in every manner, one method towards this is attending to the services needed by the owner.
- g) There is inter-khatal competition on rent of rickshaws. This is why the rickshaw pullers working with a particular khatal generally do not have freedom to shift to any other khatal or to take rickshaws on rent from any other khatal. This is the case of 'tied' rickshaw pullers.

- h) In most khatal we found that the khatal owner employs own techniques for maintenance of rickshaws. In some places we saw khatal owners taking money from pullers for small repair in rickshaws.
- i) Some khatal owners have opened their own shops according to the needs of pullers and sell goods at higher prices. The pullers are forced to buy necessities from these shops. In some khatal we have seen that owners also sell intoxicants to the pullers at higher prices.
- j) The owner takes the rent on rickshaws based on 24 hours or 12 hours. For the puller who takes rickshaw for 24 hours the rent is more by Rs. five to six. The pullers give rent on weekly basis. The pullers who take rickshaws for 12 hours pay on daily basis. The rent of new rickshaw for 24 hours is between Rs. 30 and Rs. 35 while the rent on old rickshaw is between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25. The rent of new rickshaw for 12 hours is between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25 and for old rickshaw it is between Rs. 15 and Rs. 20.

4.9 Stability in Job

We came to realize that very few of those who are engaged as rickshaw pullers take it as a stable job or stable source of income. This is because of drudgery, miserable condition of residence in city, and social stigma. We found people initially engaged in this job for two to four years and then switched over to other jobs. We could not capture these people who switched over to other jobs in our sample for the reason that our task was to select the sample of rickshaw pullers. The fact is that most of the rickshaw pullers told us during interviews that they would leave the job of rickshaw pulling whenever they get opportunity. The fact is that some rickshaw pullers opted for this job to compensate income loss in other jobs/activities and/or to make up for seasonal unemployment.

4.10 Duration of Rickshaw Pulling

We found normally one puller pulling one rickshaw for 12 hours a day. This is, however, not at a stretch. He takes rest for around four hours in between. It means, on a duration of 12 hours' rickshaw pulling per day, a rickshaw puller pulls rickshaw for eight hours. During summer they start pulling rickshaw early in the morning (7-8 A.M.) and pull it till 12 noon to 1 p.m. They take lunch after 1 P.M., take rest and start pulling rickshaw again at 3-4 P.M. During autumn they start their work at 8-9 A.M. till 9 to 10 P.M. Those having own rickshaws pull from 8 P. M./9 P.M to 9 P. M./10 P.M. In between, they go to their house (community kitchen) for lunch and take rest (normally after noon). The pullers, who are used to enter into the city daily from nearby villages, pull rickshaw during day time and return to the villages after 6 P. M./

7 P.M.. Their duration of rickshaw pulling is very short. We found that locally settled pullers and those who have migrated from neighbouring districts from UP pull rickshaws at night. By being local, they have no fear of police and passengers.

4.11 Daily income

In the job of rickshaw pulling the income per day depends on rickshaw puller's ability and season. The income varies also with the festivals, rituals and social ceremonies organized in the city. Depending on the events, the range of variation in rickshaw puller's income per day varies from a minimum at Rs. 60/Rs. 70 to Rs. 150/Rs 200. We found that the fare fixed by Nagar Nigam is not followed by any rickshaw puller in the city. In view of the pullers, the rate fixed by Nagar Nigam is very low in comparison of actual market rate and that the rates are not fixed by seasons and day and night. During study we found that some rickshaw pullers have no knowledge about rates fixed by Nagar Nigam.

4.12 Market for Rickshaw pullers

We observed that during the past ten years the demand of rickshaw pulling has been decreasing monotonically. Its main reason is increasing number of auto rickshaws and local bus services in different parts of the city. People prefer low fare-high speed means of transport. Also, rickshaws can not cover very long distance which auto rickshaws and buses can. During summer and during important events or pilgrimage (kumbh, local melas) the demand of rickshaws rises. From the passengers point of view, in the field, we found that normally every type of people take services of rickshaws but the old persons, school-going girls and persons who have heavy luggage prefer rickshaws. The reason for that is security and reaching the destination easy. We observed that the passenger calculates cost-benefits in choosing rickshaw vis-à-vis auto rickshaw. The rickshaws are mostly available in the places where there is no auto rickshaw route. These places are mainly in old parts of city (Chowk , Bahadorganj, Mutthiganj, Kydganj, Baluaghat , Ghantaghar, Khuldabad, Karelli, Mirapur, Kalynidevi, Ranimandi etc) and also in the interior of areas like katra, Prayag, Gouindpur, High court, Civil lines, Teliarganj, and Naini.

4.13 Living of Rickshaw pullers

We observed that the residential, educational, health, environment, and other basic needs of rickshaw pullers are in a miserable condition. The rickshaw pullers are often denied citizens' facility. They live in a hostile social environment. During study we observed the following:

4.13.1 Community Kitchen

We observed in the Kareli area in central Allahabad the community kitchens for the rickshaw pullers. These kitchens, meant for serving food only to the rickshaw pullers, serve multi-purposes for them. It is essentially a single katcha room made of clothes, straw, paper, plastic and some clay materials. Inside the room there are both chulla and ceiling fan somehow fixed.

The rickshaw pullers get cheap food in these kitchens run by women. It is on a daily basis. The rickshaw pullers take food in the morning in the kitchen before they go out to pull rickshaws, come back at around 2-3 p.m. to take mid-day meal following which they take rest inside the same kitchen. The size of the kitchen-cum-dining space-cum-rest room is around 100 sq. ft. that can accommodate around 10 persons. There remains no space between any two persons taking rest for a nap. Thus, one person occupies on average six-by-two sq. ft. to sleep/rest. Generally, all the ten persons who on average are supposed to take meal on a day do not eat food at the same time, nor do they take rest at the same time point. They are supposed to do these two activities by turn. After the rickshaw pullers take rest, they go out to pull rickshaws again. Thus, the rickshaw pullers get meal in these community kitchens thrice a day.

These kitchens-cum-residences are run on a rental basis. The rent per month is Rs. 200 that is paid to the owner of the plot of land. The shed is prepared by the tenant herself/himself. There is no improvement of the shed because with a notice of ten to fifteen days from the owner of the plot of land the land may need to be vacated and the tenant will have to shift to some other place. The kitchens remain highly inflammable.

The rickshaw pullers pay Rs. 20 for all the three meals per day per person, which is cheap by comparison with meals available outside the roadside food stalls. The additional benefit that the rickshaw pullers get in the community kitchens is scope to sleep/take rest for some hours covered by the same cost. Perhaps the rickshaw pullers get home environment in these community kitchens.

There is, however, no fixed kitchen for the rickshaw pullers. In all the kitchens that we surveyed the cost is the same per person per day: It is three meals for Rs. 20 per day per person. The rickshaw pullers have the choice to leave any kitchen and take food in the other depending on the taste of food, items, behaviour etc. The change does not happen within the same day.

The sanitation and environment around any community kitchen that we observed in Kareli is as poor as any slum in the city with limited space for stay. Water for drinking, bath, and other sanitation purposes are available from natural sources (Yamuna river) and adjoining hand pump. In a state of extreme economic vulnerability the dwellers remain united. There is no toilet for either the rickshaw pullers who come to take food and rest or for the semi-permanent dwellers. There is no system of disposal of garbage. It remains a compulsion for both the rickshaw pullers and the dwellers/tenants of the kitchens to serve each other, the 'accommodative cost' being very low.

For the tenant the probable sales per month comes to be Rs. 6,000 based on serving 10 rickshaw pullers per day, each paying Rs. 20 per day and getting food 30 days a month. The food items provided cover 'roti-sabji' (bread-vegetables) in the morning, 'chowli-sabji/machli' (rice-vegetables/fish) at noon, and 'roti-sabji' (bread-vegetables) in the evening. The women running the kitchen buy food items lump sum so that the cost per month on raw food items comes to be Rs. 3,000. Fuel cost is nominal. Running ceiling fan is generally through illegal means. So the kitchen owner can hope to earn an income of Rs. 2,000 per month in this process.

The rickshaw pullers take food each time stomach full. The quantity-cum-items that they take will cost around Rs. 40 per person per day from any roadside food stall. Thus, the rickshaw pullers save (real saving) per day Rs. 20 on food account, so that their real saving comes to be Rs. 600 on food account per month, based on taking food every day from these community kitchens. These rickshaw pullers have migrated for a reasonable period from the areas like Malda district of West Bengal. They have migrated singly, so that the choices are that each of them cook singly, or take food singly from the roadside stalls, or take benefit from the community kitchens. Rationally they choose the last option. They are Muslim by religion and Bengali speaking. In the city, to the commuters, they are often known as 'Biharis' (people from Bihar). If on average each rickshaw puller earns Rs. 100 per day from the passengers, of which he pays Rs. 25 to the owners of rickshaws, then each on average is left with Rs. 75 per day. Of this, each pays Rs. 20 to the owner of the community kitchen, so that each is left with Rs. 55 per day. On average thus each rickshaw puller can have Rs. 1650 per month if he pulls rickshaw every day. These rickshaw pullers come to such cities as Allahabad for saving cash to take it back home. If a portion of the money is spent on non-food items, say 10.0 per cent, then each rickshaw puller can expect to save Rs. 1,500 per month to take back

home. This seems to them reasonable in view of non-availability of wage-work for most of the periods at home region.

4.13.2 Residential condition: Land and Housing

During study we found that most pullers are used to live in khatalis with roof and walls made of polythene sheet or asbestos sheet. There are many pullers for whom even the above facilities are not available for living. They are living under open sky or living on the railway platforms in the city. In karelli area, from 'haddi godam' to the kachhar of river Yamuna, the unregistered foul area and sty is notoriously known as residence of rickshaw pullers. In this area there are two types of accommodation, one is tin huts and the other red huts. In the study we found that Tin huts are on rent at a rate of Rs. 200 per month and Red huts are at a rate of Rs. 100 to Rs. 125 per month. The whole dirty sty is located on some one's waste land. The land owner provides electricity to the Tin huts while this facility is not for Red huts. The land owner only provides his own land on rent where the pullers build huts by themselves for other shelter. This type of colony is transferred from one place to another in every 2 to 4 years. The reason is that when the land owner takes this land for his own use he serves notice of one month to the pullers. In this situation the whole inhabitants of the colony shift to some other land in the same area or other places where they get land on rent. The land owner protects the colony because he often uses them for political benefits (vote bank).

4.13.3 Environment

We observed that water in these colonies is a major problem. Only a few hand pumps and taps are the sources of water for the people of colonies. People have to stand on queues to take water leading to huge crowd at every hand pump and tap. We found also quarrels over access to water. In whole colony there is no drain for discharge of foul water. The inhabitants of four to five huts dig a ditch at a particular place to ensure carrying capacity of domestic waste water inside it. These ditches generate foul smell and mosquito. In the colony there is no proper facility for human purification. People of the colony do act of purification at lonely places, public (Sulabh) complex and open areas of the river Yamuna. In the colony most people use stove (kerosene oil) and wood for cooking food. In some places we also found small L.P.G. cylinder for cooking food.

4.13.4 Education

We found that most children of the rickshaw pullers' colony are not going to school because schools are far away from the colony. Some family members fear traffic (moving vehicles) so that they do not send their children to the schools. Some

of the guardians have been found to have no interest in education. There are 'Aangan badi' centers in one or two places in the colony, where some children go. Local people are not satisfied with quality of Aangan badi centers. In our conversation with many families, we found that they demand for government school near their colony. The rickshaw pullers residing in Karelli area are mostly Muslims, their family is big and they are uneducated. These pullers are mostly from Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. Almost all the elder members of these families are unaware of relevant social issues and/or they have very low awareness. In most families there is no place for education.

4.13.5 Health

Many rickshaw pullers live alone in the khatal. They suffer from pain in body, headache, stomach pain, blister in hand and feet etc. For treatment of these they take medicines from shops without any medical check up and hence, without any prescription. In case they do not get relief, they try to go to Government hospital. If they do not get relief in Government hospitals, they go to the private doctors for treatment. We found that the children of the families of rickshaw pullers who reside in filthy places suffer mostly from diseases of intestine and stomach, malaria, vomiting etc. The elders suffer from asthma and T.B, as reported. It is found in the study that most uneducated members of families have no knowledge of diseases and they do not take care for prevention of these diseases. People of these places take medicine from medical stores and from local 'Jholachhap' (unlicensed) doctors. As and when they do not get relief they go to government hospitals or to private doctors.

4.13.6 Poverty

We found poverty and condition of starvation of rickshaw pullers in the field. Many families depend on borrowing for living. For unforeseen expenses they borrow money at a rate of Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per hundred per month from khatal owners, Mahajans, and Landlords. In order to repay the interest, they need to work hard. The accumulated interest increases over time and a situation comes when they need to pay half of their earning to the lender. Under these conditions and circumstances they can not fulfil their basic necessities of life. Sometimes some rickshaw pullers migrate from one city to another. Some run away to their villages and some are forced to work for the lender. During field survey we found that rickshaw pulling needs very hard labour so that some pullers pull rickshaws for 4 to 5 days a week. Thus, some of the pullers pull rickshaws for 20 to 25 days a month. Living with the family in the city raises cost. In absence of alternative occupations (part time) for additional income they are forced to borrow money and become debtor. There are

some pullers who save money from their income and deposit it in the hand of khatal owner, landlord and Dharmguru.

4.13.7 Civic facilities

We found that in some khatal, the khatal owners prepare ration cards of rickshaw pullers and use the ration cards for their own purpose. In some khatal the rickshaw pullers' names are registered in the voters' list. Some people living in filthy colony have ration cards, they use it for personal purposes but they have complaint that they only get kerosene oil from ration shop, which also becomes scarce for them. In survey we found that the above facility to the rickshaw pullers is provided by special effort of local Municipal Corporation and party leaders. They use these for their own sake indirectly. There is no other facility found during the study.

4.13.8 Family Responsibility

We found in the study that the rickshaw pullers are loaded with family responsibilities for survival and compulsive social rituals like marriage of their daughters, repaying debt, to take back land mortgaged earlier, medical treatment of family members etc. The uneven balance between low income and high needs creates pressures on the rickshaw pullers. The rickshaw pullers often remain frustrated in life. Some of them even work as 'Bandhaw labour' (bonded labour) and some succeed to change their residence and occupation. During study we saw that many families were unable to carry out these responsibilities.

4.14 Role of Government Planning

During our study at filthy colony we found that DUDA (District Urban Development Authority) had formed groups (SHGs for community benefits) of men and women under Sahari Swarn Jayanti Rojgar Yojna. In a condition of acute poverty, few members of the groups try to save money on a monthly basis. The mechanism of controlling these programmes is very weak. This program could not offer benefits to the people of the identified area. We found hopelessness among the settled rickshaw pullers. In these colonies we found that the Social Welfare Department of the Government of UP and DRDA had a plan to provide fund sponsored rickshaw to the rickshaw pullers. In the plan many rickshaw pullers were selected. After the plan was approved, the concerned department sent pullers to the dealers of rickshaws to help the pullers to buy rickshaws. As reported by the rickshaw pullers, the dealers did not provide them rickshaws as per sponsored (fixed) fund. The dealers assembled rickshaws with cheap materials and demanded above Rs. 5000 per rickshaw while the actual (market) cost of one rickshaw of the standard

prepared by the dealer was only Rs. 3500. The SC/ST/Minority welfare departments of the district have provided approximate 250 rickshaws to concern class/community of people who pulls rickshaw in the city during last year. In the year 2004-2005, the Government of Uttar Pradesh decided not to take license fees from the rickshaw pullers who owned rickshaws. In our study, we found that most of the self-owning rickshaw pullers do not know the Government declaration. Even those pullers who have knowledge about Government plan said that Nagar Nigam officials do not listen to them and without giving money (bribe) it is impossible to get license. According to the rickshaw pullers, the beneficiaries of this facility are connected with the brokers of Nagar Nigam, who are the khatal owners. There is no benefit of ordinary rickshaw pullers.

4.15 Social Evils of Rickshaw pullers

We found that most of the rickshaw pullers are addicted to intoxicants like wine, Ganja, and Bhang. The female members are also used to drink wine. Both male and female members take Pan, Bidi, and Tobacco. During interview, rickshaw pullers of different areas told us that nearly 20% of those who do not live with their family or living alone in the city go to 'chakla ghar' (Brothel). Very few of those who live with their family in the city do so. During conversation, we found that these people do not take preventive measures to save them from AIDS because they do not know this disease. During the study we observed that some of the rickshaw pullers had left their family, started living with other women and having physical relation with them. They do not think that it is immoral.

4.16 Unity and Union of Rickshaw Pullers

We found absence of unity among rickshaw pullers based on occupation. They, however, have unity based on area and religion. People from Bihar, Bengal, and Madhya Pradesh are living with people of their own area. They are also divided on the basis of religion. To save them from (Hindu-Muslim) riots, the minority section resides in Muslim-dominated areas of the city. The other sections reside in other areas. Because of poverty, busy daily schedule, hard labour, dependency on others, heavy pressure of responsibility for the family, they are not occupationally united. As we asked about the rickshaw pullers' union, the pullers revealed ignorance. Some people reported that following the efforts of big khatal owners once on a small scale the pullers united themselves and protested against issues like Rent, Fare, Permit, Tempo and Auto Rickshaw route, and social security. Because of weak union and lack of proper support these protests did not take credible shape. Instability of people in this job is also responsible for absence of union. On the bases of interviews of

khatal owners, sample pullers and others (outside sample), we infer that there is no union of the rickshaw pullers in the city.

4.17 Specific Cases of Rickshaw Pullers

We recorded some specific cases of rickshaw pullers during the field study. Under this process, we found different socio-economic problems and social-cultural values of rickshaw pullers. This information has helped us to find out the actual living condition and needs of rickshaw pullers and their households. These cases are given as below:-

Case Study - 1

Respondent : Sikander Mehto
 Native Residence : Katihar, Bihar
 Present Residence: K. L. Guddu (Khatal) Kitganj, Allahabad
 Family Details :

Name	Relation	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation		Monthly Income	Living Area
						Major	Minor		
Sikander Mahto	Self	Male	50	Married	Literate	Rick. Pulling	Nothing	3000	Allahabad
Rita	Wife	Female	48	Married	Illiterate	Labour	Housewife	500	Native
Ranjit	Son	Male	16	Unmarried	8 th	Studying	-	-	Native
Kundan	Son	Male	12	Unmarried	5 th	Studying	-	-	Native
Deepak	Son	Male	6	Unmarried	-	-	-	-	Native
Ratana	Daughter	Female	20	Married	5 th	Housewife	-	-	Native

Sikander is a native of Katihar near Ayodhyaganj market sameli village. His wife and four children (three sons and a daughter) live in the village, while he lives in the city alone. He does not remember the exact year when he migrated to the city but indicates that it was the time of Mahakumbh in which many people died. He is working as a rickshaw puller, and approximately 35 years had passed since then. He has no other occupation. He used to work in a tent shop in Patna in his childhood. The owner of the tent shop was a resident of Allahabad. He brought Sikander to Allahabad when his shop in Patna was closed. He earns living for his family solely through Rickshaw pulling. He also went to Bhatinda district of Punjab and worked as a Rickshaw Puller there for two years, but came back to Allahabad because it was too far from his native place. As reported, he owns no land or capital in the village. He is, therefore, forced to work as a rickshaw puller to earn daily bread. This also help him to meet the expenses for living in the city. During the rainy season income from rickshaw pulling goes down drastically and he becomes unable to send money to home, with the result that his family faces problems in getting two square meal a day. He lives in the 'Khatal' which is not a proper place for living during winter and rainy season as there is no roof. He takes lunch in a hotel and prepares his dinner himself.

He describes summer as the best season both from the point of view of income when he gets large number of passengers. He complained that the rickshaw-fare fixed by Nagar Nigam of the city of Allahabad is not for the benefit of the rickshaw pullers. While fixing the fare, the Nagar Nigam did not discuss with the rickshaw pullers settled in the city. Sikander suggested a revision in the fare which has been kept unchanged for the past few years. In his view, there has to be fare-differential for day and night. Sometimes, when he does not get a rickshaw on rent, he works as a labourer in contract in building construction. He has been experiencing health-related problems because of his long stay in this job, like stomach ache. He has taken a loan of Rs. 5000/- from bank to purchase land in the village for Bata in year 2000 on 0% interest rate. He has returned back Rs. 3000/- and Rs 2000/- are left. He has taken 1.5 bigha of land for farming from a person who owns 250 bigha land and works in a city. The land is used for growing rice, corn, wheat, turmeric which is used for the family subsistence. Unfortunately due to flood in Ganga and Kosi river in the last five years, the crop was destroyed and he suffered losses.

Sikander admits that he will continue in the job despite all odds, till his body allows. He says that income from the job is good during the festivals like Magh Mela, Baisakh, Marriage season etc.

Case Study - 2

Respondent : Jageshwar
 Native Residence : Jaunpur (U.P.)
 Present Residence: Hallau (Khatal) South Malaka, Allahabad.
 Family Details :

Name	Relation	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation		Monthly Income	Living Area
						Major	Minor		
Jageshwer	Self	Male	72	Married	Literate	Rick. Pulling	Nothing	800	Allahabad
Yashoda Devi	Wife	Female	68	Married	Illiterate	Housewife	Nothing	-	Native
Shidhanath	Son	Male	38	Married	Literate	Agriculture	Mobile Seller	1000	Native
Sona Devi	Daughter in Law	Female	17	Unmarried	Illiterate	Nothing	Nothing	-	Native
Anita Devi	Daughter in Law	Female	15	Unmarried	Illiterate	Nothing	Nothing	-	Native
Sunita Devi	Daughter in Law	Female	13	Unmarried	3 rd	Nothing	Nothing	-	Native
Sumitra	Daughter in Law	Female	11	Unmarried	Illiterate	Nothing	Nothing	-	Native
Etavari	Bahoo	Female	34	Married	Illiterate	Housewife	-	-	Native
Vijay Kumar	Son	Male	24	Married	9 th	Private Service	Nothing	1500	Native
Sanjoo	Bahoo	Female	22	Married	Illiterate	Housewife	-	-	Native
Jai Prakash	Son in Law	Male	3	Unmarried	-	-	-	-	Native
Shiv Prakash	Son in Law	Male	1	Unmarried	-	-	-	-	Native

Jageshwar is a native of Khodia ka Pura, Dariyawan, District Jaunpur (U.P.). He worked in the printing Press of NIP (Northern India Patrika), Allahabad for 36 years as a labourer and retired in 1992. He had some differences with the union due to which he was unable to get all the money deposited in the Provident Fund. He only got a fraction of the money he was entitled to. The owner of the Press resided in Kolkata. Hence, Jageshwar was unable to meet him. He used to come frequently to Allahabad and tried to get the money (PF) released. He had a big family to support and hence faced financial difficulties after retiring. He owned about 0.60 acre of land that yields some crops which were not sufficient for subsistence of his family. He then started working as a Rickshaw-puller to maintain his family. For nine years (1994-2003), he worked as a rickshaw-puller in Allahabad city during which he made several unsuccessful attempts towards getting his fund released from NIP. In the year 2004 he suffered from Arthritis and was unable to pull the rickshaw. He was again forced to take up the job of rickshaw pulling as he was unable to see the bad (financial) condition of his family.

He now works for 20 days a month as a rickshaw puller and takes rest for 10 days in his village. On an average, he earns fifty rupees per day. He takes an old rickshaw on rental basis because the rent per day of old rickshaw is lower (between Rs 14/- and Rs. 18/-) than the rent of a new rickshaw (between Rs. 25/- and Rs. 30/-) per day. He has two sons; one of them works in Rajasthan in a private job and earns Rs. 1500/- p.m., the second son has a mobile shop of cosmetic goods, who earns Rs. 1000 p.m. The son in private service sends Rs. 800/- to his home, which is inadequate for his family. During the rainy season, income from pulling rickshaw and 'feri' (mobile shop) remains very low and sometimes almost nil. During that period, he can arrange for ration items for 15-16 days a month. He took a loan of Rs. 20,000 from a moneylender in his village to meet the expenses of marriage of his grand daughter. He is now unable to work as a rickshaw puller as his health is not allowing him to do so. He searches for a fixed passenger and prefers single passenger than a double one. He thinks that this profession is derogatory and least remunerative. He does not want any of his son joining this profession. He only hopes to get some of his money from the NIP fund which will save his family.

Case Study - 3

Respondent : Sheikh Ismail
Native Residence : Midnapur (West Bengal)
Present Residence: C/o Bachchalal, House No. 365, Rajapur, Muir Road, Allahabad
Family Details :

Name	Relation	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation		Monthly Income	Living Area
						Major	Minor		
Sheikh Ismail	Self	Male	39	Married	Literate	Rick. Pulling	Nothing	2000	Allahabad
Tairikun	Wife	Female	37	Married	6 th	Housewife	-	-	Allahabad
Rukhasana	Daughter	Female	11	Unmarried	5 th	Nothing	-	-	Allahabad

Ismail is a native of Midnapur, village Husainpur, Gram P.O. Rajaram Chowk, Thana Nandi gram. His occupation is daily labour for the past three generations. He started working as agricultural labour when he was 17 years old and continued working for 5-6 years. The work was least remunerative and sometimes, the moneylender/owner of land only gave a little grain as wage, while he had to work for 12-14 hours a day. Ismail discussed his problem with his friends who worked outside. He came to Allahabad in 1990 alongwith some of his friends and learned rickshaw pulling. He then took a rickshaw from Phulkumari 'Khatal' - Rajapur on rent and after 3-4 years with some of his savings and loan from fellows, he bought a rickshaw. After a period of time, he took a room on rent in Rajapur and started living with his family. At present, he is not satisfied with his work. He cited several reasons for this like the nature of work due to which the health suffers; he is rebuked by policemen, shopkeepers, and passengers. There is no respect in the job of rickshaw pulling. Often the policemen puncture tire of his rickshaw when he is waiting for passengers on road. The policemen also beat them at night when the former are often drunk and snatch away their money and suspect them without any reason because they are poor.

He has taken a loan of Rs. 20,000/- from a local moneylender at 120% interest rate per annum for his daughter's marriage for which he pays Rs. 2000/- per month and so far has paid Rs. 8000/- as interest while the principal is still unpaid. The Government has exempted any tax on rickshaw while Nagar Nigam does not listen to his plea. He also saved Rs. 500/- p.m. in Post Office under a scheme which was spent in the marriage of his daughter. According to him, the rainy season is the most tough because he does not get enough passengers and his income drops to lowest level. Due to low level of income, his family survives on only one meal a day for about the whole month in the rainy season. He admitted that he has no interest in

such a labourious and unremunerative profession. If he gets Rs. 10,000/- as loan, he would be happy to work as vegetable vender.

Case Study - 4

Respondent : Manoj
Caste : (Kahar) OBC
Native Residence : Not given
Present Residence: 35 Chaitham Lines, Allahabad
Family Details :

Name	Relation	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation		Monthly Income	Living Area
						Major	Minor		
Manoj	Self	Male	37	Unmarried	Literate	Rick. Pulling	Traditional Work	2500	Allahabad
Binod	Brother	Male	34	Unmarried	4 th	Painting	Labour	1500	Allahabad
Shanti Devi	Mother	Female	55	Widow	Literate	Domestic Servant	Housewife	-	Allahabad
Rakesh	Brother	Male	18	Unmarried	3 rd	Labour	-	1500	Allahabad
Ranno	Sister	Female	16	Unmarried	4 th	Housewife	-	-	Allahabad

Manoj belongs to a family whose main occupation was agriculture. His father worked as a peon in Allahabad University. His father left the job due to mental illness after six years of joining and came back to the village. After recovering from illness which took about three years he went back to the city but his job was lost. Prof. Banarsi Prasad Saxena of Allahabad University took his father's services as a domestic servant following which his family migrated to the city and started living at the place of Professor Banarsi Prasad.

His mother worked in the house of Professor Banarsi Prasad and his father worked as a rickshaw puller. The ancestral property in his village was grabbed by the moneylenders. Manoj did not complete his formal education because of financial difficulties. When he was 16 years, he started working in Ramesh Hotel near Board office. He left the job after 3-4 years because the owner was very rude to him. He then worked in hotel Milan for 2½ - 3 years and left the job again because the owner deducted his salary for any minor mistake. He then worked as a domestic servant in an officer's house of Irrigation Department and learned cooking food. For thirteen years Manoj worked as a domestic cook at this place, after which he was sent to karnataka by this officer whose son was studying engineering. Manoj was sent there to prepare north Indian food for his son. The son was a drug addict and Manoj also became addicted to drugs and started drinking. One day the son of that officer died due to overdose of drugs and Manoj lost his job. After sitting idle for a period of time he started rickshaw pulling and for the last five years he is doing this job. He is now addicted to drugs. Most of his income is spent in these activities and in giving rent to rickshaw owner. He is therefore not able to send adequate money to his family. His

mother earns Rs. 60/- from Professor Banarsi Prasad's house alongwith food. One of his brothers is a labourer and the other works as a painter. His living condition is deplorable as he is a drug addict and eats little food. During the interview it was also observed that his mental condition is not normal due to which he also tried to molest his sister a few days back after which his family disowned him. He now lives near Prayag station or in the Rickshaw Khatal. According to him, he is not happy with this profession and wants to leave it. If opportunity comes, he would like to have a chat stall because he likes cooking.

Case Study - 5

Respondent : Rajneesh Kumar Deepankar
Caste : Chamar (SC)
Native Residence : Reewa, Madhya Pradesh
Present Residence: Pappu Ki Khatal, near Beli Hospital, Allahabad
Family Details :

Name	Relation	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation		Monthly Income	Living Area
						Major	Minor		
Rajneesh	Self	Male	19	Unmarried	5 th	Rick. Pulling	Nothing	2000	Allahabad
Ram Asare	Brother	Male	35	Married	Illiterate	Ag Labour	Labour	1000	Native
Vishale	Father	Male	60	Married	Illiterate	Nothing	-	-	Native
Chhoti	Mother	Female	58	Married	Illiterate	Housewife	-	-	Native
Shyam Kali	Bhabhi	Female	32	Married	Illiterate	Ag. Labour	Housewife	500	Native
Vinay	Bhatija	Male	6	Unmarried	-	-	-	-	Native
Jitendra	Bhatija	Male	4	Unmarried	-	-	-	-	Native

Rajneesh is a native resident of Gram Chuhia, Post Office Shiv Rajapur, District Reewa (M.P.). His father worked as 'Palledar' in Jabalpur. While working, once one of his hands fractured and now he does not work any more. The elder brother and his wife have taken land from a Pandit of his village on rent and are able to cultivate some crops for family's subsistence. He came with a man to Allahabad after his father stopped working and there was no monetary support in the family. At first, he worked in a shop at Sadar market. Because of low wage and heavy work, he left the job after eight months and went back to his village. On the suggestion of some of the villagers to work as a Rickshaw puller, he came to the city again and started working as a rickshaw puller for the last two years. He sends above Rs. 1000 per month to his family and works only during day time. According to him, there is grouping among rickshaw pullers like M.P., Bihar and local group. The local group earns more than the outsiders because they work at night, while outsiders are afraid of working at night. He said that the work is derogatory. Often rickshaw pullers are rebuked. Their income is also low. Thus, it remains a very menial job. There is no union or group of Rickshaw pullers in the city and nobody listens to their problems.

The owners of rented rickshaws sometimes do something but that is very rare. There is only 'Khatal' for lodging reports which does not have any authority for redressal of grievances. He intends to work for not more than one year, after which he will migrate to Mumbai or Surat where he will take up a private job. He is presently waiting for those people who are already working in these cities and hopes to get a job through them.

Case Study - 6

Respondent : Mohd. Shabbir
 Native Residence : Reewa, Madhya Pradesh
 Present Residence: Sanjay Khatal, Kareli, Allahabad
 Family Details :

Name	Relation	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation		Monthly Income	Living Area
						Major	Minor		
Mohd. Shabbir	Self	Male	15	Unmarried	Illiterate	Rick. Pulling	Nothing	2500	Allahabad
Aneesh Rahman	Father	Male	45	Married	4 th	Agriculture	Nothing	2000	Native
Maslim	Mother	Female	42	Married	Illiterate	Housewife	-	-	Native
Abera Khatun	Sister	Female	18	Unmarried	5 th	Housewife	-	-	Native
Roshani	Sister	Female	12	Unmarried	5 th	Studying	-	-	Native
Shakina	Sister	Female	8	Unmarried	2 nd	Studying	-	-	Native
Kadir	Brother	Male	10	Unmarried	3 rd	Studying	-	-	Native
Ramaoon	Brother	Male	6	Unmarried	-	-	-	-	Native
Javeer	Brother	Male	03	Unmarried	-	-	-	-	Native

Shabbir is the eldest son of his family, among two brothers and three sisters. One of his sisters is adult enough to get married. His father Anish is a farmer and his family always lived in financial crisis due to which his father used to often beat him up for no reason. He ran away from his house to Delhi and started working in a steel factory. After two years, his hand got affected from the occupational hazard, so that he left his job and started working with a fish trader where he worked as a butcher. Due to nostalgia and home sickness he left his job and again went back to his family. He was again rebuked by his father for sitting idle. He then came with some villagers to the city, and learned rickshaw pulling and started working. He is working here for the last one year and earns about 2500/- per month. He saves Rs. 50/- per day and deposits the money with a Priest (Maulvi) and gives it to his father when he goes to his village. He does not like this work and wants to go back to his village and take up cultivation, but he is unable to do so because he is afraid of his father.

Case Study - 7

Respondent : Kallu
Caste : Chamar (SC)
Native Residence : Allahabad (U.P.)
Family Details :

Name	Relation	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation		Monthly Income	Living Area
						Major	Minor		
Kaloo	Self	Male	36	Married	Illiterate	Rick. Pulling	Nothing	1500	Allahabad
Kaushlya Devi	Wife	Female	48	Married	Illiterate	Domestic Labour	House wife	600	Allahabad
Meena	Daughter	Female	20	Unmarried	Illiterate	Domestic Labour	Nothing	600	Allahabad
Maya	Daughter	Female	18	Unmarried	Illiterate	Domestic Labour	Nothing	-	Allahabad
Suresh	Son	Male	25	Unmarried	Illiterate	Driver	Nothing	1500	Allahabad

Kallu is working as a Rickshaw puller in the city for the last five years. He earlier worked as a tonga puller for 10 years. When the number of auto rickshaws (Tempo) increased in the city, he got lesser passengers on tonga, and was even unable to meet the expenses on the maintenance of his horse. He was in debt and in order to pay his debt, he sold his tonga. After sitting idle for sometime, he started pulling the rickshaw. He married a woman who was 10-12 years senior to him, and had four kids from her first marriage. Her first husband left her because of her poor mental condition. Kallu's wife is used to domestic chores in several houses, the saving from which helped kallu to buy a second hand rickshaw for Rs. 1500/-. He presently owns that rickshaw and works as a rickshaw puller. Two of his daughters along with his wife work as domestic helpers and earn about Rs. 2,000/-. One of his sons is a driver and sends Rs. 1500/- per month to the family. He is also able to save Rs. 1500/- per month following which the financial condition of his family is better.

Kallu neither has rickshaw license nor rickshaw driver's license. He has not opted for license because sometimes he has to drive in the outskirts of the city. According to him, 25% of the rickshaw pullers do not have rickshaw license and 50% of them do not have rickshaw pullers license. The U.P. Government has exempted any tax on these rickshaw license who have their own rickshaw Kallu does not have any knowledge of it. Kallu plans to open his pan shop or tea stall when he is unable to work as a rickshaw puller.

Case Study - 8

Respondent : Nathu Lal
 Caste : Yadav (OBC)
 Native Residence : Kota Rajasthan
 Present Residence: Choufatka, Petrol Pump, Allahabad
 Family Details :

Name	Relation	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation		Monthly Income	Living Area
						Major	Minor		
Nathu Lal	Self	Male	52	Widower	Intermediate	Rick. Pulling	Rent	8000	Allahabad

Nathu is living for the past 36 years in the city. There is no one in the family. His wife died long back. According to him, he came to the city when he was 14 years old with his friend Vasim. For three years, he worked as a labourer with a mason. He had to leave his job because he was allergic to cement. After some time, he bought a rickshaw on loan and during 24 years he toiled hard and bought nine rickshaws and gave them on rent. He now earns Rs. 150/- per day from the rent on rickshaws that he owns. He still works as a rickshaw puller from which he earns Rs. 100/- per day. According to him, his family members are in the village but he never went there. He still lives with Vasim in his house.

Case Study - 9

Respondent : Ram Balak
 Caste : Kewat
 Native Residence : Banda (U.P.)
 Present Residence: Fariyad Khatal, Bargadghat, Meerapur, Allahabad
 Family Details :

Name	Relation	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation		Monthly Income	Living Area
						Major	Minor		
Ram Balak	Self	Male	27	Married	Illiterate	Rick. Pulling	Sand Lading	2500	Allahabad
Meena Devi	Wife	Female	23	Married	Illiterate	Housewife	Nothing	-	Chitrakoot
Bachhi	Daughter	Female	1/4	Unmarried	-	-	-	-	Chitrakoot

Ram Balak belongs to an agricultural family, his father owns three acres of land from which his family gets reasonable income through cultivation. Two years back when he got married, his father separated him from the family. He started working as a labourer near Yamuna Bank where he carried sand. He faced several problems in that job, in summers it was difficult to carry sand and often suffered wounds in foot. On discussing his problem with other people of the village, he was given the suggestion to migrate to city. Consequently, he came into the rickshaw pulling profession. He changes between his job of rickshaw pulling and carrying sand, as income from both is almost equivalent. He would carry on working like this in future.

Case Study - 10

Respondent : Sheikh Tejmul
 Native Residence : Malda,, West Bengal
 Present Residence: Barkat ki Khatal, Kareli, Allahabad
 Family Details :

Name	Relation	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Education	Occupation		Monthly Income	Living Area
						Major	Minor		
Sekh Tajamul	Self	Male	35	Married	Illiterate	Rick. Pulling	Ag. Labour	3000	Allahabad
Ameenoor	Wife	Female	30	Married	Illiterate	Housewife	Nothing	-	Malda
Babloo	Son	Male	7	Unmarried	3 rd	Studying	-	-	Malda
Ajmeera Khatoon	Daughter	Female	10	Unmarried	3 rd	Studying	-	-	Malda
Aabhik	Daughter	Female	1	Unmarried	-	-	-	-	Malda
Setara Khatoon	Daughter	Female	5	Unmarried	-	-	-	-	Malda

Tejmul is the only bread winner in his family, he has a wife and four children. His family lives in the village while he lives in the city of Allahabad. When he was 16 years old he started working as Beldar in agriculture and non-agriculture as well as construction sector. He continued working for six years in this job; after his marriage he was forcefully separated from his family and he started working as a labour. The wage he got was not sufficient to save his family so that he came to the city with other people of the village and since last fourteen years he has been working as a rickshaw puller. He takes rickshaw on rent and in case of unavailability of rickshaw, he works as 'Beldar'. He lives in 'Khatal' which has no facilities of lodging. He uses Sulabh Complex for bathing, toilet etc. He takes his food in a 'community kitchen' where most of the rickshaw pullers get their food. He takes rest at the place where he takes lunch. In winter and rainy season, he takes rest wherever he gets a proper roof e.g. railway platform etc. He is afraid of policemen who harass people like him without any reason. They beat them, take away their money, suspect them, even threaten them to put them in lock up. His health has deteriorated for the past few years in this job; he has been suffering from backache and in the summer he faces severe problems of weakness and pain in body. He sends Rs. 1500 to Rs. 1600 p.m. to sustain his family. He wants to leave the job but without any alternative bread earning profession he cannot do so. He expects government to provide alternative respectable occupations to rickshaw pullers, through which they can earn their living and stay healthy.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Rickshaw pulling is an urban phenomenon. As a mode of public transport, it is perhaps at the bottommost of the hierarchy that offer transport services in the cities and towns. It is solely a male job; this service involves only manual labour with a little 'road sense'. The individual pulling rickshaw depends more on two strong legs along with strong hands. Depending on the design of the rickshaw and necessity of the city, the rickshaw puller may get the chance to sit on the seat of the rickshaw (with no backrest) or may not get even the chance to sit while pulling rickshaws. The first fifty years of post-independence India showed essentially hand-driven rickshaws in a city like Calcutta (now Kolkata) where the rickshaw pullers (most of them migrants from Bihar) used to run (on foot) while pulling rickshaws on busy roads of Calcutta (the practice which has almost been abolished now). In cities like Allahabad in U.P., the rickshaw pullers use pedals sitting on the seat, to pull rickshaws. It is a case of either more drudgery (past Calcutta type) or less drudgery. The extent of drudgery may also change depending on the nature of road (plain or hilly), weather conditions, age and related factors.

5.1 Major Observations and Implications

- Pulling Rickshaws is essentially forced in nature. By implication, no one likes to join this job if comparable earning is available elsewhere that involves less drudgery, and more socio-cultural acceptance.
- Forced labour in rickshaw pulling is not synonymous with 'bonded labour'. The puller is generally not attached to the owner of the rickshaw (if the puller himself is not the owner) nor he is tied with a particular 'Khatai'.
- Though being forced in nature, we found in our study stable rickshaw pullers. This, however, conceals the fact about the past pullers who shifted out (who are not in the sample) as soon as they got alternative employment (job) opportunities.
- As high as 70.07 per cent of the population from the sample rickshaw pullers stay in villages; 28.52 per cent stay in the city of Allahabad, and only 1.41 per cent stay in other towns.

- Longevity is very low for population in the sample of rickshaw pullers. Most of the population from the sample of rickshaw pullers in the city of Allahabad are below the age bracket 45 and very few hope to survive above age 60
- As high as 41.90 per cent of the population from the sample rickshaw pullers are illiterate. Most of the female population (57.35 per cent) are illiterate. Of all the rickshaw pullers, 42.0 per cent are illiterate. There seems to exist a causal relation between absence of education and rickshaw pulling, and the relation seems to be direct.
- Rickshaw pulling, shows supporting income for 92.0 per cent of the households of the rickshaw pullers. The households of the rickshaw pullers mainly draw their livelihood from agriculture and non-agricultural labour. Rickshaw pulling remains a support base.
- The traditional occupations include carpentry, basket making, carpet/dari weaving etc. The fact remains that it is 'income-support-system' that works through forced participation of the vulnerable sections of the society in a number of main and supplementary occupations. Generally it is 'forced participation' as opposed to 'diversified jobs' understood in a conventional sense
- As reported, the rickshaw pullers in the city of Allahabad had been involved in a number of jobs before they joined rickshaw pulling. These activities/jobs were cultivation, agricultural labour, non-agricultural labour, traditional work, domestic servants, mason, driver, bidi making, basket making, trolley pulling etc.
- The reasons why the rickshaw pullers gave up the past occupations include many factors like income, health, distance, nature of job and company, superannuation, accident, social respect, natural calamities etc.
- Most of the rickshaw pullers are not involved in occupations other than pulling rickshaws. The rickshaw pullers depend mainly, if not totally, on pulling rickshaws. The other jobs, if available, supplement their family income, which is insignificant.
- The earning population from the sample earn on average Rs. 1900.00 per month.
- Of all the rickshaw pullers migrating to the city of Allahabad from within UP, 56.66 per cent are landless. Landlessness and marginal landholding (less

than 2.0 acres) is a major factor to drive the population out from the root. These people become rootless when they are forced to migrate to a city like Allahabad.

- The major sources of borrowing by rickshaw pullers are moneylenders (informal) which is reported by 41.7 % of the borrowers. The average loan taken stands at Rs. 12183/-, the rate of interest per annum on borrowing ranges between 60.0 % and 120.0 %.
- As high as 48.0 % of the rickshaw pullers do not save from what they earn. 60.0 per cent of the sample rickshaw pullers pulling rickshaws in the city are from UP itself; 36.0 are from MP, 10.0 per cent from Bihar, 12.0 per cent from West Bengal, only one (2.0 per cent) each from Jharkhand and Rajasthan.
- The rickshaw pullers migrated from relatively underdeveloped regions like east UP and Bundelkhand, and not from relatively better off regions like west and central U.P. There is, however, no direct link between underdevelopment of a region and out-migration.
- The reasons behind the entry into the job of rickshaw pulling are involuntarily. Of all the rickshaw pullers, 70.0 % reported that they joined the job involuntarily (helplessness/unable to do any other job). For 57.1 %, no choice exists (no alternative job available).
- The rickshaw pullers are very much afraid of police uniform (potential threat to them).
- We find most of the entries in the job at an age between 15 and 30 years, that establishes the general age of entry into the job market. This is true absolutely for migrants from M. P., West Bengal, Rajasthan, and Jharkhand. The entry of population as rickshaw pullers confirms the same scenario.
- Only 18.0 per cent of the rickshaw pullers in the sample own rickshaws. Thus, 82.0 per cent do not own rickshaws.
- As high as 84.0 % of the rickshaw pullers pay rent for hiring rickshaws. The expenditure pattern of rickshaw pullers mainly shows 'rent' and 'major food' as the main items where their earned money goes.
- 96.0 % of the rickshaw pullers are engaged in only pulling rickshaws.
- On average, rickshaw pulling per day yields an income Rs. 83/- to a rickshaw puller. Rickshaw pulling by income indicator remains a better option for the

person engaged mainly as pullers, but search for alternative low income jobs around the city to support family income remains.

- Rickshaw pulling is only a male job, free from gender-caste-community questions. The activity shows social division of labour at the bottommost layer, based only on manual labour with virtually no learning period.
- Rickshaw pulling mainly supports family income for the households of rickshaw pullers. Even if this job does not provide households' main income, the households cannot surrender the 'option' to earn something more to balance family budget at the level of mere survival.
- Migration of people from neighbouring states and remote districts within the same state for rickshaw pulling is forced in nature.
- We did not find any bargaining power of rickshaw pullers vis-à-vis the public administration at a higher level and Khatal owners at a lower level.
- We did not find any union or organization, whether or not polity-based, of rickshaw pullers based on occupation in the city of Allahabad.
- We found community-based association (by settlement) of rickshaw pullers, which should be read as isolation socially, or separation economically, thereby weakening the power of rickshaw pullers.

5.2 Rickshaw pulling: Forced labour or Self-exploitation?

How can the job of rickshaw pulling be forced in nature when the pullers are self-employed, whether or not they own the rickshaws? Does it mean self-exploitation?

As we observed, the pullers have joined the job of pulling in a condition of helplessness, which is more than 'involuntary employment'. The very little income from the major sources or occupation forces the people to search for alternative jobs for support income. In absence of any skill required in the formal (organized sector) and/or the organized sector itself being small relative to socially required labour-capital ratios, the shifted/migrated people join jobs like rickshaw pulling. Often for some this job becomes the major source of family income. However, as we have seen, for most of the households of the sample rickshaw pullers, it is agriculture and related activities (including non-agricultural job in rural region) that show major sources of income.

It is not working with dignity that attracts potential workers to join the job of rickshaw pulling. The pullers do not work under any roof, in a particular time frame,

that could ensure their better living-cum-working condition. The rickshaw pullers seem to decide their own working hours. However, reducing working hours per day means for him proportionate reducing income, and saving (after payment of rent etc.). This the puller can not afford to do. Hence, the puller exploits himself. Family responsibility reinforces this self-exploitation.

There is a tendency to glorify the jobs and workers at the bottom layer of the society. There is also glorification of workers in the informal/unorganized sector of an economy. The hopelessness of the 'forced' migrated people to the cities to be rickshaw pullers will reveal the hypocrisy of this glorification. The concealed pain of rickshaw pullers and complaints 'almost against all' may reveal the apathy of the civil society towards people living 'somehow' in the mass society. These people live because they cannot die. They cannot die because they have tremendous family responsibilities. Often these responsibilities force them to work more and ultimately become victims of forced labour by ill-health, indebtedness, and at the extreme, by being 'bonded' to lenders.

5.3 Can Rickshaw Pulling be a Choice for Employment?

For the marginalized people living below the line of biological existence, rational choice is never a determining factor to get engaged in economic occupations. The occupations where these people can expect to enter into are in the informal sector of the economy. Rickshaw pulling is a category where the pullers are expected to run rickshaws purely manually using two strong legs and two strong hands without caring for the outcome in terms of heart/chest. For those having very little cultivable land holding, the job supports family income often to be meant for repaying old debt or fulfilling family rituals for social benefits at personal/family cost. For those having no cultivable land in the village, the alternative opportunity cost is zero, implying no choice but to surrender in the labour market. Labour, thus, remains expendable, more so in a situation of surplus army of labourers and directionless movement of many of these workers. In the field survey on being asked what the rickshaw puller would do if he is forced to leave the job of pulling rickshaws, the answer was searching for any manual (non-skill) job.

The first job theoretically may be choice-neutral. However, the worker will have either acquired competence in the said initial job and satisfied in the job (by relations with other workers in the same job and with the buyers of the service) or searches to change the job. In case of most of the so-called diversified jobs for the marginalized workers, the choices of changing jobs do not exist from the demand side. These workers are often forced to think about new jobs or are drawn into other

jobs. Local labour contractors often do this. In other words, the workers in the job of rickshaw pulling generally have no breathing space to think about other jobs, even if those jobs exist. Getting shifted from one job today to another job tomorrow may not really show the mobility of the workers. Mobility in the informal sector for the marginalized sections of the workers is a misnomer.

5.4 What do the rickshaw pullers do if pulling rickshaws is not a choice for them?

Pulling rickshaws is a choice under compulsion. Often it aims at supporting family income. It is so far only a male job anywhere in India and like countries. Thus, generally the male individuals leave the root and family for a short or medium period and come to city either with knowledge about their chance to get rickshaws to pull, or get rickshaws to pull under circumstances not known earlier. Because of many reasons pulling rickshaws may not be a choice for the pullers for an indefinite period.

Since, following our study, most of the rickshaw pullers pulling rickshaws provide support income for the family, hence the pullers do not continue to search for other employment opportunities. This is true particularly for those migrating from rural (agriculture or land-based occupations) regions for whom 'local' occupation (agriculture or land-based occupations) provides major income and attachment. Off-season migration for some and job-less forced migration for others push male people out to come to city to join the job of rickshaw pulling. A calculation of alternative opportunity cost (that could show shift from rickshaw pulling to higher order jobs) do not carry much meaning, excepting for some who can shift to higher paid full time jobs, or can open up small business etc.

For people migrating from villages, some occupation could provide income like, for example, jobs of a roadside cobbler, in a caste from the 'Chamars'. In a job like rickshaw pulling, the caste identify, that the people at the bottom layer of the society like to conceal, remains concealed. While village is open, town shows concealment. So are the rural and urban jobs. Thus, less social (caste) oppression in rickshaw pulling remains a 'choice' related to more social (caste) oppression in jobs with visible (bottommost) caste identify. The rickshaw pullers in a small city like Allahabad remain rational by 'choice under economic compulsion' and 'choice under social choice' in accepting and remaining stable in rickshaw pulling.

5.5 Suggestions

Let us stop glorifying drudgery in the name of labour-intensive activities. Rickshaw pulling shows the highest level of labour intensity (unstoppable when

carrying passengers, perhaps with luggage) even relative to pulling 'Thelas' (carts carrying goods for sale), breaking stones and bricks etc. Our purpose here is not to present a comparative picture on more or less labour-intensive activities (drudgery), but to suggest measures that may provide some temporary relief to the rickshaw pullers (on the assumption that rickshaw pulling remains in practice):

5.5.1 Specific Suggestions

- Allahabad Development Authority and Nagar Nigam, Allahabad should establish a rickshaw pullers' colony (weaker sections of society) for living with family, and with freedom of the puller to stay in the city.
- The Nagar Nigam, Allahabad is used to taken license fee for both rickshaw and puller, so that it becomes the responsibility of the Nigam to fix location for rickshaw stands. The guiding indicator for such fixation may be the conventional (existing) locations where mostly the rickshaw pullers wait to pull rickshaws in the city. The Nagar Nigam has to ensure provision for drinking water and toilet facilities in these location identified as rickshaw stands.
- It is necessary link rickshaw pullers with other alternative job opportunities (through vocational training for tailoring/weaving, small shops, cottage industry, etc.). The District Urban Development Authority (DUDA) and Nagar Nigam, Allahabad should take responsibility to identify the rickshaw pullers who have been pulling rickshaws for more than five years continuously in the city, and encompass them in the training net.
- The Nagar Nigam, Allahabad must stop providing license to those rickshaw pullers who are below 18 years and above 65 years. The Nagar Nigam should play the positive role to link the people in these age brackets applying for license to other departments (like DUDA, SC/ST/Minority welfare board, district welfare department, district labour department, and non-government organizations like CARE, SIFPSA, CREATE etc.).
- The district labour department should form a 'Welfare Association' for rickshaw pullers and strengthen it in terms of child education, health, sanitation and awareness, so that the child can be prohibited to job this job.
- The Regional Transport Department (RTO) of the district should identify areas/roads where commercial vehicles may be banned, excepting vehicles like Ambulance, Fire Brigade, private vehicles etc. Limitations on number of alternative commercial vehicles (like autos) to ply on specified roads may be

imposed by the department, in proportion to the size of settled population and road length by mileage.

5.5.2 General Suggestions

5.5.2.1 Role of Allahabad Nagar Nigam and Government

If the pullers are not in a position to get any alternative employment opportunities, some steps can be thought about for action by the local competent authority, like the following:

- a) Rehabilitation with pension of old (say, above age 65) rickshaw pullers in proportion with the period of rickshaw pulling with the minimum duration of ten years
- b) Free treatment/medical check-up of rickshaw pullers in identified hospitals in the city
- c) Linking rickshaw pullers with local financial institutions to provide either rickshaws or to provide equivalent interest free loans to purchase rickshaws with state guarantee for loan payment over a stipulated period
- d) To allot cluster-type living space for rickshaw pullers along with scope to keep the rickshaws that they own/run
- e) In case one rickshaw is drawn by more than one puller, to encourage cooperative type organization for joint ownership-cum-maintenance of rickshaws

5.5.2.2 Role of Civil Society

The first task that the civil society can do is to be more sympathetic to and accommodative for rickshaw pullers. The second task for civil society is to show path for mobilization of rickshaw pullers, organize them, make their association for ensuring justice at the bottom of socio-economic ladder. The civil society can put pressure on (local) public administration to ensure security and safety of the rickshaw pullers. The civil society may show the path to link financial institutions with the rickshaw pullers, in addition to ensuring state government as the gaurantor for loans for rickshaw pullers. The civil society broadly can work as a link between rickshaw pullers and organized institutions.

5.5.2.3 Empowerment of Rickshaw Puller through Saving

The average cost (purchase price) of a rickshaw as on date comes to be between Rs. 5400.00 and Rs. 5600.00. On the assumption that a rickshaw puller pulls a rickshaw for 30 days a month, the maintenance (repair) cost borne by him comes to be Rs. 150.00, that is Rs. 5.00 per day per rickshaw that one puller has to bear. The per month rent that a rickshaw puller reportedly pays to the owner for hiring (and running) a rickshaw is Rs. 507.00 that covers minor repair. Hence, a rickshaw puller can save Rs. 507.00 if he could own a rickshaw. Based on this hypothetical saving, a rickshaw puller can buy a rickshaw, provided he is given the chance to pay the (interest free) cost in eleven (11) months (**Appendix-B**).

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Appendix - A

A Profile of District Allahabad and Uttar-Pradesh

Indicators	Allahabad			Uttar-Pradesh		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Area (in sq. km.)	116.20	5365.80	5482.00	NA	NA	240928.00
No. of Households	185834	555107	740941	5384559	20373081	25757640
Population	1206785	3729320	4936105	34539582	131658339	166197921
Male	664023	1962425	2626448	18407899	69157470	87565369
Female	542762	1766895	2309657	16131683	62500869	78632252
Population (0-6 years)	138681	760902	899583	5365415	26259213	31624628
Male	72881	396325	469206	2838591	13670442	16509033
Female	65800	364577	430377	2526824	12588771	15115595
SC Population	155220	909877	1065097	4331781	30816596	35148377
ST Population	558	3715	4273	12135	95828	107963
Illiterate Population	361514	2067649	2429163	14190082	76288555	90478637
Male	161191	829870	991061	6456665	32207291	38663956
Female	200323	1237779	1438102	7733417	44081264	51814681
Literate Population	845271	1661671	2506942	20349500	55369784	75719284
Male	502832	1132555	1635387	11951234	36950179	48901413
Female	342439	529116	871555	8398266	18419605	26817871
CDR of Commercial Bank	-	-	19.71	-	-	30.42
Sex Ratio (per '000' male)	817	900	879	876	904	898
Sex Ratio (0-6 years' male)	903	920	917	890	921	916
Literacy Rate (%)	79.1	56.0	62.1	69.8	52.5	56.3
Male	85.1	72.3	75.8	76.8	66.6	68.8
Female	71.8	37.7	46.4	61.7	36.9	42.2
Gender Gap in Literacy	13.3	34.6	29.4	15.0	29.7	26.6
Decadal Growth Rate (1991-01)	26.41	27.02	26.87	25.1	18.1	25.85
Density of Population (per sq.km.)	10385.4	695.0	900.4	-	-	689.82
% of SC Population	12.86	24.40	21.58	12.54	23.41	21.15
% of ST Population	0.05	0.10	0.09	0.04	0.07	0.06
Average Size of Family	6.5	6.7	6.7	6.4	6.5	6.5
% of Urban Population	24.4	-	24.4	20.9	-	20.9
No. of Urban Towns	12	-	12	682	-	682
Per Capita Income (2000-01)	-	-	10112.00	-	-	9223.00
Work Participation Rate (%)	26.0	36.4	33.9	26.9	33.9	32.5
Male	40.3	44.4	43.4	44.6	47.4	46.8
Female	8.5	27.5	23.0	6.8	19.0	16.5
% of Main Workers	21.6	22.7	22.4	23.4	23.7	23.7
% of Marginal Workers	4.3	13.7	11.4	3.5	10.2	8.8
% of Non-Workers	74.1	63.6	66.1	73.1	66.1	67.5

Source: Census of India, 2001 & State and District Statistical Handbooks, 2003

Appendix - B

Saving of Rickshaw Pullers If They Own Rickshaws

Particulars	Details	Amount (in Rs.)
Name of Items for complete fitting: - Frame, Handle, Cheimta, Chimta fitting, Bumper, Breaks, Medguard, Bell, Seats, Baring, Gitak, Free wheel, Chain, Gare Crank, Paddle, Rim, Habs, Teelis, Bibi Fitting, Tyres, Gare fitting, Tubes, Parda, Kul Volts, Pawdan, Khapachi, Spring, Body, Body atari, Body Rod, Angles, Mura Pati, Hood Kamani, Parda Taken, Trinja, Parda Stands, Kamani, Madegurd Stay, Back Stay, Dhura, Bush, Chan cover etc.*	Complete fitting at high cost (K W company)	5600.00
	Complete fitting at low cost (Surpal company)	5400.00
Average Monthly Repairing Cost	(Rs. 5.00×30 days)	150.00
Average per Month Rent paid to Rickshaw Owner	(Including small repairing cost)	507.00
Monthly Saving If the pullers have own Rickshaws	(Rent of rickshaw would be saved)	507.00
Duration in which the pullers easily pay their dues in installments for purchase of rickshaw (in months)	(Per month saving 507.00 × 11 months) = 5577.00	11
Rickshaw pullers per month possible saving after repayment of dues in installments	(Per day 16.90 × 30 days)	507.00

Note: The estimated cost of rickshaw has been taken from Raj Cycle & Rickshaw Works, 0/22, Vivekanand Marg, Allahabad - 211003.

- The calculation is based on average hiring cost of rickshaw paid to rickshaw owner by rickshaw pullers.

- The 84.0 (42) per cent rickshaw pullers have taken rickshaws on hiring basis in total sample.

* Many of the components of a rickshaw are known in local terms, and hence we enlisted them as we understood, subject to correction.

Source: Field Survey.